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ABSTRACT

The study analyzed the race and sex differences in the residential status projections (aspirations and expectations), strength of residential goal deflection and migration performance (incidence, range and community of destination type) of a selected panel of seniors from 20 Louisiana high schools in 1968, with a follow-up in 1972. These schools were located in 13 randomly selected rural parishes (counties) in the state. The sample of 544 youths interviewed in 1968 consisted of 88 black males, 126 black females, 171 white males, and 159 white females. Findings showed that the majority of these rural youths aspired and expected to live in residential areas and did not anticipate residential goal deflection in 1968. By 1972, over 61% of them had migrated from their home communities, mostly to urban destinations. Significant race and sex differences were found in the residential status projections, although only race differences were statistically significant in migration performances. Proportionately more blacks than whites, and more females than males, aspired as well as expected to live in the cities. The study concluded that residential aspirations, expectations and strength of goal deflection of rural youths at the time of high school graduation were generally poor/weak indicators of future geographic mobility patterns and residential status attainment. (KM)

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RESIDENTIAL STATUS PROJECTIONS AND MIGRATION PERFORMANCES OF SELECTED RURAL YOUTH IN LOUISIANA

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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in

The Department of Sociology

by
Keng Kun Choo
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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed the race and sex differences in the residential status projections (aspirations and expectations), strength of residential goal deflection and migration performance (incidence, range and community of destination type) of a selected panel of seniors from 20 Louisiana high schools in 1968, who were followed up in 1972. The relationships between these variables were also analyzed.

The findings showed that majority of these rural youths aspired and expected to live in urban residential areas and did not anticipate residential goal deflection in 1968. By 1972, over 61 per cent of them had migrated from their home communities, mostly to urban destinations. Approximately 30 per cent had moved out of the state.

Significant race and sex differences were found in the residential status projections of the rural youth. Only race differences were statistically significant in their migration performances. Proportionately more black than whites, and more females than males, aspired as well as expected to live in the cities. Black females most desired and expected urban residential statuses and least desired or expected to live on farms. White males, however, mostly preferred and expected rural residential statuses. Black youths generally tended to migrate in higher proportions, travel further from their home communities and reside in urban destinations more than white youths.

These findings generally support previous theoretical postulates viewing the migration of rural youth as normative behavioral adaptions in response to changing social-cultural systems, manifested in declining rural communities. The race/sex differences observed reflected distinct sub-cultural differences affecting differential opportunities to goal status attainment. In conclusion, this study found residential aspirations, expectations and strength of goal deflection of rural youths at the time of high school graduation, to be generally poor/weak indicators of future geographic mobility patterns and residential status attainment.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

I. INTRODUCTION

Today, high rates of geographical spatial mobility characterize most of the population of the modern world. They are especially pronounced in the more advanced and industrialized nations like the United States of America. Here, the population is not only generally highly mobile but specifically exhibits a high volume of mobility in terms of range (distance traveled), frequency, and incidence of various types of migratory behavior.

The uniqueness of the population redistribution processes through internal migration patterns in the U.S., the rapidity with which it occurred and the distinct pronounced consequences resultant from them, as compared to other nations, has been noted by Lee (1964:123).

Migration, as a striking phenomenon of the U.S. population, has been associated with advanced industrialization, automation, mechanization, rapid urbanization, and the general overall improved economic, social, and political conditions in the country. In this regard, improved communication facilities and resources have increasingly diminished or minimized the limiting nature of "intervening obstacles" to population movement and redistribution. However, the high population mobility over the nation involves "costs" and has grave social, economic, political, demographic, and ecological implications and consequences.

It is because migration has become such an important social phenomenon in the U.S., and because it has created some social problems, that it deserves careful study and research by social scientists. This thesis is devoted to the study of one of the most important aspects of migration - that of rural youth, in an attempt to shed more light on a major migration pattern affecting the nation.

II. THE NATURE OF THE STUDY PROBLEM

The Migration of Rural Youth in the Context of United States Mobility Patterns

The migration of rural youth and young adults from rural to urban areas has been taking place nation wide for many years (Bowles, 1963:273). Historically, this population movement has contributed substantially to the general economic and technological growth and development of the nation through increasing urbanization and industrialization. Many social scientists and migration analysts including Crawford (1964:1), Lee (1964:126), and others, have recognized that such mobility of both human and nonhuman resources, has been and continues to be necessary and essential for the development and optimum functioning of a highly industrialized society.

Hence, migration is not exactly a new phenomena in the U.S. However, the continuously high rates of geographic mobility over the years has made migration a striking and pronounced feature, as has been noted, of American society and culture. The United States has been and still is a nation of migrants and in fact, migration has become a part of the American way of life (Lee, 1964:126). The tradition of leaving home still persists today, as is evidenced by the high volume of internal migration as well as international migration of the population in the country.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (1961, Table 8, Series PC(2)-2B) approximately one-half of the 40.9 million families in the U.S. moved at least once within a five-year period. During the post-war years, over 30 million people moved from one house to another within each twelve month period. Ten million persons moved across county lines and about six million individuals migrated from one state to another (Lee, 1964:126). Further breakdown of these data show that among the U.S. population every year, one in every five persons changes his place of residence and one in every 14 individuals migrates from one county to another, while one in 30 persons migrates across state boundaries.

More recently, the U.S. Bureau of Census (Final Report, 1970 - PC(1)-C1) has reported that on the average over 47 per cent of the U.S. population, five years and older, had moved or changed residences between 1965 and 1970. Twenty-three and three-tenths per cent of the population had moved within the same counties while 17 per cent had moved across county lines, and about 6.7 per cent had either moved abroad or had not reported their place of residence. For the Black population, ten per cent had moved within the same counties as compared to 18 per cent for the Whites; and 18 per cent of the Blacks had moved across county lines compared to 22.5 per cent for the White population. More Blacks (9.3 per cent) had either moved abroad or not reported their places of residence than the Whites (6.2 per cent). Over this same period, 21.4 per cent of the rural population had moved within the same counties while 16.2 per cent had moved across county lines. Comparatively, for the urban population 24 per cent had moved within the same county and 17.4 per cent had moved to different counties. These report findings are evidence of the consistently high rates of geographic/spatial mobility of the nation's population.

The Selectivity of Migration

In these streams of population movement, not only is the volume great and the frequency of migration high, but the distance covered in each move is often quite considerable. However, allowing for the ease of movement over the longer distances, distance is still a limiting factor in migration (Lee, 1964:128). Long distance migration is often expensive and involves "cost" socially and economically to the migrants, disrupting family ties, social institutions, and close associations. It is not surprising that migration research efforts have established an inverse relationship between the number of migrants and distance traveled.

It follows from the above that as distance increases, the selectivity of the migration process becomes more evident. Migration in terms of incidence, frequency, volume, and distance is selective by sex, race, age, economic conditions, social systems, and personal variables. Migrants, therefore, are not a representative random cross-section of the population and most of the migrants moving internally in the U.S. are typically young adults in the ages of greatest reproductivity and productivity (Lee, 1964:128).

Also in these ages of maximum migration (20-24) one in six males move from one county to another and one in ten changes state of residence (Lee, 1964:127). The U.S. Bureau of Census (1966:3) also noted that between 1960-1965 over 43 per cent of the U.S. population in this age group moved.

These demographic facts and trends show that most of the mobility behavior and migration trends during the last decade were attributable to those of young adults and youth in their late teens. This age selectivity of the migration process may be one of its most critical aspects. This has become increasingly clear over the years, as demonstrated by the many declining and decaying small rural communities, which have suffered the drastic social, political, and economic consequences of high outmigration rates of the youth.

These negative aspects of migration will be further discussed in the review of literature for this study. Although there are various advantages and positive aspects of population migration, as pointed out by Sjaastad (1962), important and far reaching consequences affecting the people involved, create an important sociological problem which needs to be researched. It is important to know the future migration intentions and expectation of our youth and the various factors influencing their migration performances, which have implications for and effect on the population of the nation.

Rural Youth Migration Patterns

It has been noted that a substantial part of these high youth mobility trends and rates over the nation as a whole, may be attributable to that of the rural to urban movement of young adults and late teenagers from the rural farm areas and small towns. This is evidenced by the continuously high rates of rural population depletion and decline; and also by the significantly high proportion of net out migration rates of rural youth being drained to more urban communities. Various past studies dealing with migration have reported similar findings, including that of Bowles (1956) and Beale (1964), supporting this assertion. Beale (1964:264-272) noted that most of the reduction in the farm population may be accounted for by the heavy out migration of young people who have decided not to enter agriculture as a career.

The Rural Youth Problem

Factors that have led to or permitted continuous population depletion trends leading to the high volume of rural youth exodus from the farms are many and varied. They have been well documented and some of these factors will be discussed in the review of literature which follows.

Generally, various changes in the agricultural industry complementary to the overall social, economic, technological, and political development of the nation, has been associated with the changing population structure and composition in the rural areas. It suffices here to note that generally, rural youth find diminishing opportunities available to them in farming and very limited employment alternatives open to them in small rural communities. Therefore, the majority of rural youth must either voluntarily or involuntarily move to communities where better opportunities are available to them. This is why they have to move to the urban and metropolitan centers in search of opportunity.

Many rural youths who migrate may not view their new communities positively, that is as a place to establish permanent residence where they may attain their desired life goals. Many apparently would prefer to return to their communities of origin to establish residence and build a life career there. Thus, migration represents a means to an end but not a full life for many.

In moving, many youths create adjustment problems for themselves, their families, and friends. Because many rural youths have grown up in "disadvantaged" settings such as poor school facilities, relatively poor living facilities, and communication systems, etc., they are inadequately trained (or socialized) to adjust to the urban way of life. They are often not technically skilled or educationally prepared to take full advantage of the best opportunities that are available in the cities. In addition, many of these migrants to the cities are faced with housing problems and discrimination in social participation. It is understandable why some of them fail to assimilate into the urban culture. Certain social and economic problems arising from the increasing slum and ghetto areas of cities have been either directly or indirectly created by such maladjusted migrants.

In recent years, the high volume of rural youth exodus to urban communities and metropolitan areas has been of concern. This rural to urban migration problem is most striking for youths at the time of their graduation from high school and upon entry into the nation's labor force market. This high propensity for youths in this age group to migrate and be redistributed/relocated in various residential settings of different types of communities, has grave consequences and implications which has been noted.

Specifically, they indirectly or directly cause problems for their communities of destination and for their communities of origin. Rural youth migration creates vacuums in the population of the rural communities with only the very young or very old left behind. The continuous rural population depletion has caused many of these rural communities to diminish in size and thus lose, many of the necessary community facilities and services which their inhabitants badly need for a decent level of living. These small communities cannot afford to support new facilities and services and thus, deteriorate and become less self-sufficient and increasingly dependent upon public agencies.

Of greater significance and importance, perhaps, are the consequences that their migration behavior may have for their own future livelihood. For the young adults who may migrate voluntarily or involuntarily, where they go and how far they go, and deciding on how to go and what to do, may have implications that will strongly affect their personal, social, economic, and political development. Their migration performance/behavior may determine specifically the relative degrees to which they may (a) achieve their chosen career goals and aspirations in life, (b) become "successful" in life through vertical social mobility and (c) ultimately become responsible contributing members of their communities and nation.

III. GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Many questions have prompted this study. Some of these question are:

1. What proportion of rural youth leave their home communities after high school?
2. Where do they migrate to?
3. How far do they travel in migrating?
4. What are the types of communities that rural youth aspire to live in?
5. What types of communities do they really expect to live in?
6. Is their migration performance related to a greater or lesser extent to their residential aspirations and expectations?
7. How do these selected personal and social characteristics of migrants affect their migration behavior?

The general objectives of this thesis will be directed towards seeking clarification and answers to some of the questions listed above. Specifically, it is proposed to determine the residential goals and status projections of a sample of selected rural high school seniors at the time of their graduation. It is also proposed to examine and analyze the subsequent migration performances of this selected sample of high school seniors as determined by locating their place of residence four years later, in 1972. Migration performance is measured in terms of (1) incidence,

(2) distance traveled (or range) from their community of origin and (3) type of community of destination. The last part of this thesis will be devoted to determining the relationships between residential aspirations and expectations, selected social and personal characteristics (sex and race and their strength of goal deflection) with the migration performances of youths.

IV. THE SETTING FOR THE STUDY

Louisiana, like many of the other southern states, has undergone dramatic changes in population composition and redistribution in recent years. The state exhibited a population growth rate of 11.8 per cent from 1960 to 1970, according to the 1970 Decennial Census (K. Paterson and A. Bertrand, 1972:5). Although Louisiana is urbanizing rapidly, it is still more "rural" than the nation as a whole. During the last decade (1960-1970) the state's population increased by 2.8 per cent while its rural population dropped accordingly (1970 Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census). The population trends in the state may be explained as follows.

Forty-four of the 64 parishes in the state increased in population during the 1960-1970 decade. Growth occurred especially in the parishes located in the southern part of

Louisiana and with metropolitan centers. However, twenty parishes suffered a net loss of population through out-migration.

> ...the state lost a net of 132,117 persons through migration of outside places from 1960 to 1970. A breakdown of this loss by race reveals that the blacks are continuing to leave the state, whereas more whites are entering the state than are leaving. A total of 157,937 more blacks moved out of the state than moved in...
>
> ...about 2/3 (66.1%) of the people in Louisiana live in urban places as defined by the U.S. Census (places of 2,500 or more inhabitants) and over 1/2 of its inhabitants reside in metropolitan areas of adjoining parishes which are socially and economically interdependent with the central cities. Despite this urban predominance in the population place of residence distribution, more than 1/2 of the parishes in the state are still over 50% rural (K. Paterson and A. Bertrand, 1972:9-14).

After describing the above population changes, from 1960 to 1970, Paterson and Bertrand (1972:36) concluded that:

> 1. ...there are considerable regional variations in the growth rate...some areas in North Central Louisiana continue to face the social dilemma of a declining population which is reflected in problems such as aging of the local population, underemployment, low income, local taxation, erosion and poorly supported social institutions like churches and business places...
>
> 2. ...this ongoing shift in the rural-urban composition of the state's population can be expected to have far-reaching consequences...the impact of urbanization will likely be seen in a reduction of the state's birth rate. At the same time, the values, attitudes, and goals of the people can be expected to change over time.

> 3. ...Louisiana still has one of the largest non-white populations of any state but the proportion of non-whites in its population has declined since 1960. Substantial net outmigration of non-whites and inmigration of whites continue to account for this trend.

Bertrand and Paterson (1972:36) also noted that much of the state still reflected a rural and agricultural character in its population composition and distribution but suggested that if the urbanization trend continues, values will change and new problems will emerge.

The Parishes Selected for the Study

In this study 13 randomly selected non-metropolitan (rural) parishes (counties) in Louisiana were involved. In selecting these parishes, the state was divided into four geographic areas following the same pattern used by the State Department of Education for effecting supervision of Vocational Agriculture programs (C.L. Mondart, Sr. & C.M. Curtis, 1967). In each of these four areas, subsequent random sampling procedures selected the specific parishes from which the sample of high school seniors were derived. Only the non-metropolitan parishes in these areas were used in the sampling selection. These four areas (I, II, III, and IV) are delineated on the map (Figure 1). Background information and selected agricultural characteristics of these areas are presented in the following sections.

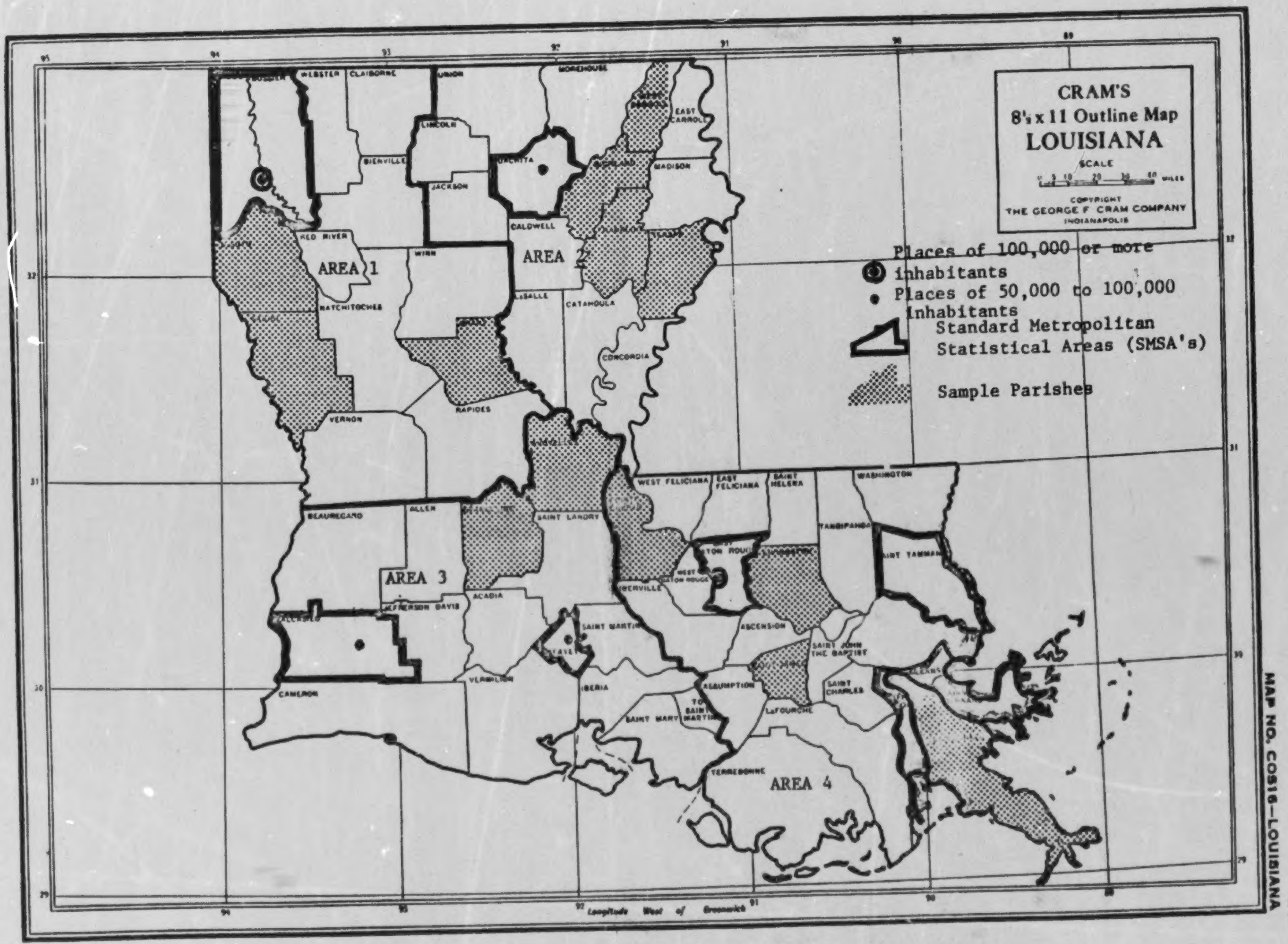


Figure 1: Geographic Areas and Selected Parishes for the Study.

Area I

Area I is geographically located in the Northwest part of the state. The metropolitan parishes in which Shreveport is located was excluded in the selection of parishes for the study. The specific parishes included are DeSoto, Sabine and Grant. Most of the agricultural activity in this region centers around cotton production, livestock production and forestry, timber and cutover pine industries.

Area II

This region is located in the Northeast portion of the state. The specific non-metropolitan parishes included in the area are West Carroll, Richland, Franklin and Tensas. The metropolitan areas of Monroe and West Monroe were excluded in the sample selection made. This region is geared towards both agriculture and industry. The main crop grown here is cotton, although livestock and dairy production and such related industries as processing equipment, manufacturing plants, creameries, marketing, etc. are also prominent.

Area III

This area is in the Southwest portion of the state and consists of twelve parishes. It is internationally renouned for its rice and sugar cane production. Other major crops grown in this area are cotton, sweet potatoes, corn and soybeans. Supplementary agricultural enterprises are beef, swine, poultry, truck crops and timber production. This is a very "rich" agricultural area and "some of the wealthiest farmers in the world can be found in this sugar-rice sector of Louisiana" (Dept. of Vocational Education, LSU, Vo. Ag. Ed. #19, June 1967:4). This part of Louisiana is also known as "Cajun Country" or Acadian Country" where the unique French-inherited cultural influence still exists today. In fact, French is spoken throughout the area.

Area IV

This area is located in the Southeastern portion of the state, excluding the metropolitan areas of Baton Rouge (the state capital) and New Orleans. The specific parishes included in this study were Pointe Coupee, Livingston, St. James and Plaquemine. Agriculture in this region of the state is dominated by dairy, poultry, truck and fruit farming and chemical industries.

Besides differences in geographical location and agricultural industries, the four areas exhibit many distinct social, cultural and economic characteristics in their population composition and distribution. The unique nature of the population make-up of the state of Louisiana is reflected in these differences.

Population Changes in the Study Parishes

Population changes in the 13 parishes selected for the study and in the state are given in Table I including

TABLE I

POPULATION CHANGES OF LOUISIANA AND THE 13 SELECTED PARISHES BY PERCENTAGE, NET MIGRATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE (1960-1970)

The State Parishes	Population 1970	Population 1960	Change (%) 1960-70	Net Migration Number	(Change) %	% Change in Place of Residence (1960-1970)	
						Urban	Rural
The State							
Total Population	3,641,301	3,257,022	11.8	-132,117	-4.1	2.8	-2.8
White	2,539,547	2,111,715	14.8	25,856	1.2		
Negroes & Other Races	1,101,759	1,045,307	5.4	-157,973	-15.1		
Metropolitan Residence	1,996,197	1,750,456	14.0	-28,264	-1.6		
Inside Central Cities	1,144,778	1,100,327	4.0	-103,032	-9.4		
Outside Central Cities	851,419	650,129	31.0	74,768	11.5		
Nonmetropolitan Residence	1,645,109	1,506,566	9.2	-103,853	-6.9		
Parishes							
Avoylles	37,751	37,606	.4	-4,547	-12.1	1.2	-1.2
DeSoto	22,764	24,248	-6.1	-3,916	-16.1	4.2	-1.2
Evangeline	31,932	31,639	.9	-5,994	-18.9	7.6	-7.6

(Continued)

TABLE I

(Continued)

The State Parish	Population 1970	Population 1960	Change (%) 1960-70	Net Migration Number	(Change) %	% Change in Place of Residence (1960-1970)	
						Urban	Rural
Franklin	23,946	26,088	-8.2	-5,542	-21.2	-10.7	10.7
Grant	13,671	13,330	2.6	-1,021	-7.7	0	0
Livingston	36,511	26,974	35.4	4,400	16.3	-3.7	3.7
Plaquemines	25,225	22,545	11.9	-2,553	-2.1	-6.2	6.2
Pointe Coupee	22,002	22,488	-2.2	-4,755	-21.1	.3	-.3
Richland	21,774	23,824	-8.6	-5,649	-23.7	3.9	-3.9
Sabine	18,638	18,564	.4	-2,030	-10.9	-.3	.3
St. James	19,733	18,369	7.4	-2,312	-12.6	15.0	-15.0
Tensas	9,732	11,796	-17.5	-3,404	-28.9	0	0
West Carroll	13,028	14,177	-8.1	-2,974	-21.0	0	0

Sources: Karen W. Paterson and Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana's Human Resources: Part V Population Change by Parishes and Incorporated Places, 1950-1970 (Tables 1, 2, 3, & 8).

change through net migration and by rural/urban changes in place of residence between 1960 and 1970. There was a net migration loss in all the parishes except for Livingston Parish. This exception may reflect the expanding influence of the growing SMSA of Baton Rouge and the related economic, social, and urbanization influences and interdependence that it exerts upon its hinterland.

Upon examination of the changes in rural and urban places of residence in the study parishes (Table I), it can be seen that six out of ten parishes showed such change between 1960-1970. These six parishes experienced losses in their population residing in rural areas while gains were shown for the number of people residing in their urban areas. Such population changes, as reflected by these selected parishes, generally exemplify the rural to urban migration trends prevailing over the state and nation. This provides the setting for examining and analyzing the place of residence, goals and migration performances of rural youth in these areas.

V. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study was designed to examine and explore the place of residence aspirations of selected rural youth in Louisiana and to provide additional detailed knowledge regarding such aspirations. Kuvlesky and Pelham (1967) have noted that there is very little attention paid to place of residence and status orientations in the many recent status projection youth studies. They contend that this was basically because of the lack of a conceptual scheme to study the problem area. With the conceptual scheme that has been developed as a result of studies on education and occupation status projections, it is possible to systematically analyze and investigate orientations towards place of residence in rural youths. They have further added that sufficient evidence exist to indicate that youths have aspirations and expectations for a number of other status goal areas including one for place of residence. Earlier studies have mostly assumed that aspirations are critical for subsequent goal attainment and therefore, it may be argued that these residential status projections might have a highly significant dependent relationship upon their occupational,educational and other goal aspirations and thus, might subsequently affect their social spatial mobility behavior towards goal attainment in these areas. Using such a conceptual framework in this study to analyze residential projections will determine the applicability, utility, and validity of such an approach towards the study of status goal projections, besides those of occupation and education.

In testing the significant influence and effects such residential aspirations and expectations, and other selected factors (sex, race and goal deflections) have on subsequent geographic mobility or rural youth, it is hoped that some clarification will be given concerning the underlying motivational elements that affect and produce plans to migrate and subsequent migration behavior. Hopefully, it will also aid in the task of building a more general integrated theory of migration.

As secondary objectives in this study, some of the sex and race differences concerning rural youth's residential orientations, their residential goal deflection experiences and the relationships of these factors to their subsequent migration performance will also be explored and analyzed. These findings may broadly reflect the extent to which these ascriptive characteristics or factors (race and sex) still influence vertical social and spatial mobility behavior in the United States. The differential degrees of relative social and economic deprivation and discrimination felt by these differential race and sex rural youth groups may also be partly indicated by their residential goal orientations, their strength and incidence of goal deflections, and subsequently their migration behavior.

Significant race and sex differences in residential status aspirations and expectations as well as in the types of communities of destination that they migrate to, are evidence of the differential social and economic opportunities available to them. This will reflect their relative awareness of the opportunities that are available and also their differential means employed, and conditions affecting goal attainment. In addition, such information regarding the race and sex differentials in residential goal projections, to the extent they affect future residential goal attainment levels, will have strong implications for predicting spatial mobility patterns, ethnic housing segregation and location patterns, and for directing rural and even urban development programs.

From a broader perspective the significance of this study may be stated as follows. Youth represents a vital resource for any nation. Their activities and abilities to develop socially and economically as well as personally, into responsible useful citizens of the future have great implications for the future development and progress of the nation.

For most youth, it has become a socially accepted phenomena to leave their families and home communities in order to seek their fortunes and make a "success" of their life goals and careers. Their migration performance or behavior has important consequences and significant influences for their attainment of chosen life goals and careers. Besides, where these migrant youths go, the distances they travel and the proportion that leave will also affect the balance and redistribution of population, economic goods as well as other resources in the nation. But for whatever reason, and whether migration does occur or not, the attainment or lack of attainment or residential goals itself will have a significant influence on life satisfactions and living conditions.

Furthermore, it has become more important nowadays, (with the increasing awareness of the need for a healthy, pollution free, clean environment) for people to stress the relative importance of living in a decent, healthy, place. Such feelings towards place of residence is further reinforced by the increasing threat of pollution from the industrial centers and other related sources. It may be that with the increased cultural emphasis and importance assigned to the place of residence, many of these youth may well express greater preference towards residential goals associated with ecology. Their residential aspirations and expectations will reflect future residence patterns, mobility patterns and other population trends.

The need for knowledge concerning residential goals of rural youth and on the variables influencing these goals and later migration performances is evident. Such information and knowledge will have great utility and applicability for the planning and administration of youth development programs. This is especially pertinent at a time when governmental policy making, planning and administrative agencies, both in the rural and urban areas are involved in programs aimed at providing an overall better quality of life for youths.

CHAPTER II

MIGRATION OF RURAL YOUTH IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a substantial body of literature which is devoted to migration. However, there is a lack of a comprehensive theoretical framework for interpreting and integrating the many diverse specific findings, theoretical conceptualizations, and conclusions which are in this literature. Mangalam (1968:1) has noted that this lack is one of the major pitfalls of past migration studies in sociology and other behavioral sciences. Because of this lack of a comprehensive theory, Mangalam (1968:1), Hamilton (1961:297-307), Beijer (1963:316), and others, have pointed out that it is virtually impossible to interpret and make use of the existing research findings as an analytical tool. These same authors suggest that a comprehensive theory of migration is not only a possibility, but that it must be one of the important concerns of the future. It is hoped that this study will contribute to this goal.

In this chapter, I will review some of the relevant findings, theoretical statements, and conceptual models from past studies of migration that may be related in a general way to the specific social problem undertaken for study, i.e. residential orientations and other factors related to migration performance of rural youth. It is the purpose of this chapter to provide a general theoretical orientation for understanding and interpreting residential projections and migration performance as well as to shed light on the total complex structure of the migration process itself.

The Significance of Migration

Migration is frequently a major indication of social change (Harp, Morton & Ruff, 1967:2). For example, it has often been recognized as a social response to changing capacities in the agricultural system and to the socio-cultural attractions and opportunities in the urban-industrial area (R.B. Klietsch & others, 1964:5). It is well known that surplus agricultural population contributes to the continuously high volume of rural to urban migration streams the world over. In the United States such a trend has continued to support and reinforce the rapid urbanization and industrialization within the nation.

Population mobility has many social, economic, and demographic impacts, consequences and implications. Generally, migration may be viewed as a "leveling force" helping to solve the inter-area imbalance of population throughout a country (Harp, Morton & Ruff, 1967:3). Bogue (1959:487) has pointed out that there is frequently an inverse relationship between economic opportunities and the birth rate of a community, implying that a large proportion of the youth are reared in areas of declining opportunities, which offer little promise of a satisfactory social and economic adjustment as an adult. This "over-population" (an excess of individuals relative to existing opportunity or demand for them) as defined by Amos H. Hawley (1950:328-330), causes migration and population movement provided that there also is an area of "under-population". Thus a levelling effect can occur, correcting the population imbalances between various areas and communities.

Migration, despite its obvious benefit of expanding opportunities, leads to problems for a nation. Specifically, migration can have implications for both the communities of origin and destination because of the creation of various social, economic, and cultural adjustment problems for the individual migrants. In this regard, it is well documented that the high volume of migration of the agricultural population to cities and suburbs usually result in a "selective dismembering" of many communities and an inordinate growth of others (R.G. Klietsch & others, 1964:1).

The social cost of such population movement is seen in the weakening of associations and institutions in the communities experiencing population losses. Economic activities, educational systems, government efforts, and the "very values and purposes of social existence that motivate human behavior" in these areas are seriously affected (R.G. Klietsch & others, 1964:1).

The sociological significance of migration itself may be gleaned from the following paragraph.

> ...it is not the mere loss or addition of numbers of residents that makes population change important. The sociological significance of population change, aside from the sheer numerical aspects, lies in the impact and social consequences that population change has upon (1) the stability of community life and the individual and (2) the adequacy of social institutions to cope with the changing social needs and altered characteristics of the resident population. In short, the significance of population change lies in how it affects community life and the lives of the residents of the community (R.G. Klietsch & others, 1964:5).

Economically, the significance of migration has been well stated by Burford, Bertrand and Jokinen (1963:3). They have noted that it helps in the efficient adjustment of labor supply to existing demand conditions in a given labor market. However, the migration process tends to be cumulative and the initial existent labor supply and demand conditions which account for population shifts, are modified in the process. This modification may create even greater differences, leading to more migration (Burford, Bertrand and Jokinen, 1963:4). Thus "migration provides an index or measure of the relative abundance of economic opportunities (or demand for labor relative to supply) in any two or more areas, at a point in time, or changes through time" (Burford, Bertrand and Jokinen, 1963:4).

Said another way, the "push-pull" forces creating migration shifts are clearly evident in the economic impact and consequences resulting from such migration. Burford, Bertrand and Jokinen (1963:4) have stated that:

> Poor opportunities tend to exert an expulsive force on the population in an area, while better opportunities elsewhere represent something of a magnetic attraction. It is this tendency to leave areas of relatively few opportunities which makes migration a basic avenue of adjustment or equalization of opportunities to the individuals in different locations.

The major effects and impact of population change on social and institutional systems have been classified into three types according to Klietsch and others (1964:40). Each type has significance for a variety of community, institutional and individual responses which in turn "affect the stability, growth, and decline of social life". These types and their effects are summarized briefly below.

> 1. Cumulative Effects: referring to the consequences that broadly affect the entire community or institution, rapidly or slowly inducing wholesale reorganization and adjustment. Such effects tend to signal decline or are associated with

loss of function and centralization; and are often the most penetrating changes.

2. Differential Effects: referring to the selective, frequently isolated or fragmentary effects of population change upon institutional life. Some of these major differential effects may be the changes in government programs and organizations, individual responses to in- or out-migration and diversification in social systems.

3. Emergent Effects: referring to those changes which only begin to affect the patterns of institutional life; the full consequences of which cannot be isolated and determined. Some of these effects reflect the trends directly related to population loss or gain, rural-urban fringe planning, transportation problems, etc. These effects are the forerunners of future social trends which in turn will affect the population and social stability.

The Definition of Migration

Past studies of migration have had difficulty defining this phenomenon (Mangalam 1968:5). This is due to a number of misconceptions that are prevalent and which lead to inadequate conceptualizations and definitions. Mangalam (1968:6-7) has discussed four of these misconceptions of migration.

1. The assumption that migration is random behavior.
2. The tendency to be reductionistic in the approach to studies in migration, especially in using physical and biological variables.
3. The major emphasis placed on the individual, studying only related individual characteristics and leaving out the human interactional element in migration.
4. The implicit assumption of the uniqueness of each case of study in migration.

With the above in mind, we can review some of the definitions of migration:

> A migration means, therefore, not merely a shift of a certain number of undifferentiated persons from one place to another, but also a change in the occupational and population structure of both countries or regions (Petersen, 1961:592).
>
> We define migration as the physical transition of an individual, or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one (Eisenstadt, 1957:1).
>
> Henceforth, we will use the term migration for the change of residence of an individual from one parish or commune to another (Hagerstrand, 1957:28).
>
> Migration involves a more or less permanent change in residence; a movement from a donor community to a receiving community. Moreover, migration in a social sense involves a transfer of loyalty, a change in identity and a disruption in social ties and commitments (R.G. Klietsch with others, 1964:38).

Other approaches to definitions of migration can be elaborated as follows. Everett S. Lee (1966:184) has defined migration broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. He places no restriction upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act. Also, he does not distinguish between external and internal migration. His definition does not include all kinds of spatial mobility like those of the continual movements of nomads and migratory workers who have no long term residence, or the temporary moves of people to mountains for the summer, etc. He does, however, make it clear that every act of migration involves an origin, a destination and an intervening set of obstacles including the distance of the move.

Burford, Bertrand and Jokinen (1965:5) defined migration as any change in residence of an individual or family, ranging from a move across the street to one across the nation or across national boundaries. They note, however, that for the purposes of empirical studies there is a need to measure migration in terms of patterns and purposes. Such a broad definition is too general for study of specific types of migration.

Nam (1968) has defined migrants as persons who change their permanent residence from one community to another, or from a larger geographical unit to another. He notes that in the U.S. Census (Nam, 1968:333), a migrant is defined as a person who has moved from one county to another. Such a distinction, it is suggested, is intended to clearly define migrants as those individuals who have severed residential connections with one area of residence and established them in another. It may be noted that the U.S. Census further differentiates between migrants as such and movers being those who move to new households or residences, whether they cross county lines or not. Another distinction is made between persons who move between nations (international migrants) and those who move within the nation (internal migrants).

A comprehensive and inclusive definition of migration has been developed by Mangalam (1968:8). This definition accounts for the interactional dimension and the decision-making process inherent in this social phenomenon:

> Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.

This definition is inclusive but somewhat cumbersome.

Everett S. Lee (1969:13), noting that migration is an inherently difficult phenomenon to study, states that attempts to define migration too sharply will hinder the researcher from making various observations.

> Change of residence extends over a continuum and must be broken down in some manner. There are differences in people according to the type of move made and we must vary our definition of migration accordingly (Everett S. Lee, 1969:13).

The definition of migration used, and presented later, is in light of the above discussion.

The Sociological Context of Migration

The complex nature of migration has led to innumerable studies designed to explain this important social phenomena.

Harp, Morton and Ruff (1967:3) has summarized some of the sociological explanations of migration as follows:

> (1) [Migration] is the means by which the individual finds or attempts to find, a better adjustment in the social and economic order;
>
> (2) it is the means of correcting the imbalance between population and natural resources;
>
> (3) by disturbing the age and sex composition of a particular segment of the population, it affects marriage rates and marriage opportunities;
>
> (4) it breaks the social bonds and institutional ties of the individual and therefore influences the church, the school, and other institutions and agencies;
>
> (5) it affects the economic order because the movement of individuals involves the movement of economic goods.

Migration as a process of population change, its resultant effects, antecedents and individual responses has been explored by Klietsch and others (1964:38). They viewed the notion of migration to include:

> (1) a set of "antecedents" which stimulate or inhibit the individual's need or consideration of migration;
>
> (2) a "decision-making process" during which the individual evaluates the need to migrate with reference to the opportunities and satisfactions available in a home community against the possible opportunities and rewards to be gained through migration--a process requiring that an individual formulate notions of personal aspirations, commitments to home community, a sense of social cost accruing from migration or remaining in the home community, and a feeling of social satisfaction with the present and future;
>
> (3) "migration procedures" which are involved in the actual migration, such as identification, adjustment and re-establishment;

(4) "social effects", such as changes in population characteristics, altered institutional strength and problems of growth or decline, that are produced by migration.

Mangalam (1968:8-15) discusses some of the general characteristics or elements of migration that have been observed by authors and researchers in this area:

a. geographical movement by actors individually or collectively including a permanent moving or a change of residence.

b. a decision-making process before migrating by these actors individually or collectively taking into consideration the following factors:

    1. a high degree of relative deprivation in some important values;

    2. perception of inability to meet these deprivations in the place of origin;

    3. perception of better ways of meeting the unmet needs in other places;

    4. the selection of a place from the available ones on the basis of where the social organization most suited to the needs of the collectivity may be found.

These decision-making steps, it is explained, may not always be carried out overtly in a hierarchically ordered set of values or in a logically articulated fashion by all potential migrants; but these elements are present in varying degrees in any given case of migration. Their detection and isolation are important tasks for the sociological researcher (Mangalam, 1968:10).

Everett S. Lee (1968:184) has summarized the factors that affect the decision to migrate and the process of migration using the following headings:

1. Factors associated with the area of origin.
2. Factors associated with the area of destination.
3. Intervening obstacles.
4. Personal factors.

Lee points out that the above framework is general enough to include what is known about migration and to indicate a number of fields for investigation in this area. The first three classes of factors he identifies are illustrated in his simple chart, shown below, which shows the various factors acting to hold people within the area, attract people to it, or which tend to repel them.

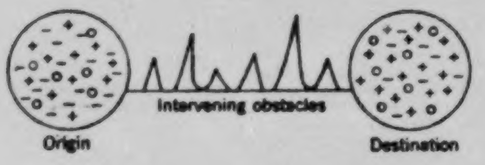


Figure 2: Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration: The "Push-Pull-Obstacles" model. Source: Everett S. Lee "A Theory of Migration," Demography, 3 (1966), 48.

For the sociologist, migration offers a challenge. He must make a comparison of the factors at origin and destination in terms of positive and negative values and determine the balance which favors the move. In addition, he must study the intervening obstacles to migration which may be slight in some cases and insurmountable in others.

Many personal factors will also affect individual's decisions and these factors may either facilitate or retard migration. As already pointed out, many of these factors are more or less constant through the life of many individuals while for others, they may be associated with stages of the life cycle and in particular with the sharp breaks that denote passage from one stage to another.

Everett S. Lee (1968:184-186) and others have stressed that it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination but the perception of these factors which will ultimately result in migration. Personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere enter into the evaluation and definition of the situation. There are personalities which are resistant to change (like change of residence etc.) and there are others that may welcome change for the sake of change. For many individuals there must be compelling reasons for migration, while for others little promise or provocation suffices.

Furthermore, the decision to migrate is never completely rational and many factors covering the whole range of the communities, to those specifically affecting individual migrants concerned come into play. For some persons the rational component is much less irrational in deciding whether or not to migrate. Hence, it should be expected, as Lee has pointed out, that there will be a lot of exceptions to the generalizations to be drawn as to the various factors affecting migration. Even transient emotion, mental disorder, and accidental occurrences account for a considerable proportion of the total migration in the country (Lee, 1968:186).

The "Push-Pull" Theory of Migration

A positive and negative aspect to the migration provocating situation is clearly evident. Migration may occur as a search for an opportunity to improve one's lot in life. In this case, the community of destination exerts a "pull" on the migrant. It may also occur as a flight from undesired social or economic situations. These situations constitute an expulsive "push" by the community.

Bogue (1969:755) has pointed out the Lee's "push-pull obstacles" model for migration has well summarized the "push-pull" theory that has guided migration analysts and researchers for many years. According to this theory, migration is conceptualized as resultant from "pushes" and "pull" (or "attractions" and "repulsions") at both origin and destination. This is viewed within the context of the relative effort or cost involved in overcoming the obstacles lying between the individual and potential alternative sites, and on the presumption that the individual will try to minimize these costs, whatever they are and however they are measured.

> The "push-pull" theory is an abstraction which is made in order to classify the specific forces at work. In each case of migration, several variables of both types may be operating and interacting so that the move cannot be attributed wholly either to the "push" or to "pull" factor alone. As already pointed out, the particular "mix" of push and pull factors that lead to migration in one person may be very different for another. By the examination of data for large numbers of persons, the common stimulants to movement may be established (Bogue, 1969:753).

Bogue also listed some major economic and social changes that may determine or affect the decision to migrate and migration performance itself (1969:753-754).

"Push" Factors

1. Decline in a national resource or in the price paid for it; decreased demand for a particular produce on the services of particular industry, e.g., exhaustion of mines, timber, or agricultural resources.

2. Loss of employment resulting from being discharged for incompetence, from a decline in need for a particular activity or from mechanization or automation of tasks previously performed by more labor-intensive procedures.

3. Oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment because of political, religious, or ethnic origins or membership.
4. Alienation from a community because one no longer subscribes to prevailing beliefs, customs or mode of behavior--either within one's family or within the community.
5. Retreat from a community--because it offers few or no opportunities for personal development, employment or marriage.
6. Retreat from a community because of catastrophe--flood, fire, drought, earthquake or epidemic.

"Pull" Factors

1. Superior opportunities for employment in one's occupation or opportunities to enter a preferred occupation.
2. Opportunities to earn a larger income.
3. Opportunities to obtain a desired specialized education or training such as a college education.
4. Preferable environment and living conditions--climate, housing, schools, other community facilities.
5. Dependency--movement of other persons to whom one is related or betrothed such as the movement of dependents with a bread winner or migration of a bride to join her husband.
6. Lure of new or different activities, environments, or people, such as the cultural, intellectual or recreational activities of a large metropolis for rural and small town residents.

Bogue (1969) further pointed out that some of these forces represent impersonal conditions in the environment while others represent the mental states of individuals.

He stated that although all migration (voluntary) results from a subjective response to two subjectively perceived and subjectively interpreted socio-economic environment, (the one presently occupied and another one that is a possible alternative) and as Lee (1968:185-186) has also pointed out, the intervening obstacles to migration must be taken into account in analyses of factors related to migration.

Migration may also be seen as a response of human organisms to economic, social, and demographic forces in the environment (Bogue, 1969:753). People tend to remain in their communities so long as their needs are satisfied and they are well adjusted. Often they may identify strongly with the community and locality and become emotionally attached. If migration occurs there is change to a new environment and a complete separation from the old established relationships with friends, relatives, and the community. A "cost" is involved in migrating. Therefore, from the "push-pull" theory that has been discussed, migration occurs because there is a need felt by the potential migrant (whether economic, social, or physical) that he can't satisfy in his present place of residence or local environment; and if the felt need is important enough to outweigh the "cost" involved, then migration occurs.

Thus, migration may be viewed as an adjustment to economic and social situations, resulting in various social and economic changes. This is evident in examining the migration patterns of the U.S. population.

Having reviewed the various definitions, conceptualizations and approaches to the study of migration, it is intended in the remaining portion of this chapter to examine and review the internal migration patterns in the U.S., within the theoretical perspective discussed. In doing this, particular emphasis will be given towards the examination of rural to urban migration patterns, especially that of rural youth.

Internal Migration Patterns in the U.S.

One of the most important major forces in altering the internal population balance and redistribution within the United States has been internal migration (Lee, 1964:123-124). Because of the way and the rapidity with which population change occurred, the many consequences and effects of these changes have been rather pronounced and quite unique in this country (Lee, 1964:124).

Historically, three broad movements can be identified in the population redistribution of the U.S. through internal migration (See Lee, 1964:124, Shryock, 1964: 411-425). First is the migration from east to west which consolidated the country and dispelled threats to American Sovereignty. Then, as the west was being populated, the second population movement set in - movement to the cities - transforming the U.S. from a nation of farmers into an industrial power. The third great movement was the migration from the south to the north, which of late has taken on special significance because it has become primarily a migration of Negroes. All three of these movements and mobility streams continue today (Shryock, 1964:411-425).

The population redistribution through rural to urban migration has been rather striking. This can be seen in the following description by E.S. Lee (1964:125).

> At the 1st U.S. Census in 1790, only 5% of the population lived in places of 2500 or more inhabitants. With the rapid pace of industrialization, the redistribution of population was accelerated and by 1870 the urban population had reached 25%. By 1920, 50% of the population fell in that category and today 70% of the population is urban and most of the remainder live in non-farm areas. Only about 8% or less remain on the rural farm areas. The cities have basically depended upon migration from the farms for their fast growth and increased density.

The south has long been described as a region of high fertility and low industrialization. It has, thus remained a region of high outmigration rates, with some change recently. Both E.S. Lee (1964:125) and Taylor and Roberts (1963:3) have noted this in their studies, adding that the usual area of destination has generally been the urban centers of the Northeast and North Central states. This population redistribution trend has been often associated with the Negroes in the south which held 90% of all the Negro population in 1790 (Lee, 1964:126). However, by 1960 the Negroes were more urban than the Whites and only five out of every nine Negroes remained in the south.

T. Kuroda (1965:336-339) has indicated that migration from rural to urban areas is the dominant pattern in most countries, especially in the developing countries. He also pointed out that the rural-urban movement of people has contributed substantially to the growing urbanization of many countries in recent decades. In the United States this movement has been associated with the mechanization of farms and the consequent reduced need for farm personnel as well as with industrial development and economic opportunities generated in cities (Nam, 1968:334). As the main concern of this thesis is focused on the rural to urban migration patterns of rural youth, it entails a close examination and analysis of the many "push-pull" factors underlying the high volume of rural population outmigration patterns. This is undertaken in the following discussion.

Some Push-Pull Factors Impelling Rural to Urban Migration

One of the leading factors that has led to the mass rural to urban migration movement of people has been the dramatic changes in various industries and their changing demand for the various resources. These changes have significantly altered the manpower requirement and the demand for certain skills, etc. A good example is seen in the rapid growth and development of labor needs in service industries in recent decades which in 1962 employed six out of every ten workers in the nation. The impact, implications, and consequences of these rapid shifts and resultant changes in the manpower scene has become increasingly felt and has gained increasing public attention and concern in recent years (Mirengoff, 1963:343-353).

Similar changes in the labor requirements and manpower organization have been observed in the agricultural sector of the economy. Over the past years, the consequences and effects created by these changes have had a significant impact on the livelihood, job opportunities and dislocation of rural farm people, causing many to make major adjustment in the way they earn a living and in the location of their homes and jobs (Mirengoff, 1963:346).

Mostly, drastic changes in the farm manpower requirement have been caused by the mechanization of farms, resulting in better labor efficiency and the subsequent release of excess labor, and at the same time being more selective in terms of skills needed (Mirengoff, 1963:346). The increased mechanization on farms together with the use of new innovations like pesticides, herbicides, fertilizers, new varieties of crops, etc. have increased production by leaps and bounds. Labor requirements have decreased with this better efficiency of production. Mirengoff (1963:3-6) has pointed out that by 1961, each farm worker produced food and labor to meet the needs of 27 persons when compared to that of 1:7 ratio in 1910.

With the improved agricultural production techniques greater efficiency in production through large scale operations as highly commercialized units become imperative. Consequently, many of the small farms are increasingly commercialized or consolidated to operate as larger commercial units. The average size of farms rose from 174 acres in 1940 to 302 acres in 1959 (Mirengoff, 1963:346). Because of these and other "push" factors, millions of farm people have been displaced decade after decade by new processes and trends in the agricultural economy. The majority of these people have had to transfer to other industries for a livelihood or move to the cities and other urban areas; and this great move out of farm work into the cities has been a part of the American rural life for many years (Mirengoff, 1963:347). In addition, Beale (1964:264-272) noted that the generally high operating level of the non-farm economy, the ease of physical access to cities, and the dominant stylistic position of metropolitan life have attracted people away from farming areas.

> At the beginning of the century, one out of every three workers in the labor force were engaged in agriculture work. By 1960, this proportion had changed to one in 18. Agriculture employment fell from 7.4 million in 1950 to 5.9 million in 1960, with a further drop to 5.2 million by 1962. This was a loss of three out of every 10 farm jobs in a dozen years (Mirengoff, 1963:347).

Therefore, it can be seen that the net result from such dramatic changes has been a vast stream of rural to urban migration or agricultural outmigration, which is predominantly responsible for the increasing rural depopulation and changing population composition in the rural areas.

> Particularly in the South, large numbers of farm people have had to leave their homes and move to urban areas where jobs may be available. By 1960, less than 1/3 of the population lived in rural areas and only one out of every nine people lived on farms (Mirengoff, 1964:347).

G.K. Bowles (1963:273) has observed that this rapid rise of labor efficiency in agriculture and the subsequent reduction of farm labor needs has added an important "push" element to the rural to urban migration streams. Today's rural population mobility, the high rate of the agricultural exodus, and its wide spread nature over the entire nation has been noted by Calvin L. Beale (1964:264-272).

Social and Economic Adjustment Problems for Rural Youth

The migration of rural youth and young adults to the cities and urban areas has been a major component of these streams of population redistribution in internal migration (Lee, 1964:128 and Bowles, 1963:273). The fact that internal migrants are typically young adults in the ages of greatest productivity and of greatest reproductivity (Lee, 1964:128) has been previously noted. In greater detail, Bowles writes:

> In the 52 years, 1910-1962, over 33 million more people moved from American farms than moved to them or whose residences were reclassified as non-farm. At the time they moved, the bulk of these persons were youths or young adults. Not all of them went directly to urban places; about 40 per cent stopped in small towns and villages, and those who did go to urban places concentrated more in small cities than in large metropolitan centers. Nevertheless, an estimated third or more were in metropolitan centers at the end of the period (Bowles, 1963:273-274).

These high rates of rural youth mobility have been directly or indirectly related to the declining agricultural labor force which has important social, economic, and cultural implications for rural youth.

Severe social and economic adjustment problems affecting rural youth upon their entry into the labor force market have been noted by Mirengoff (1964:343-353) and G.K. Bowles (1963:273). They have pointed out that with job opportunities and careers on the farms diminishing drastically, the majority of rural youth starting out in life must seek non-farm work and careers for a livelihood. Recognizing this fact, F.T. Bachman (1963:19) has added that because economic opportunities in agriculture are limited, rural youth more and more, must look to nonagricultural activities to find job opportunities which commensurate with their abilities and with those currently available for urban youth. Mirengoff (1964:348) has estimated that only one out of every 10 boys in farm families who enter the labor market in the 60's will have the opportunity of operating commercial farms of sufficient size as to constitute a source of adequate income. Indeed, the Department of Agriculture itself has repeatedly emphasized that only a small proportion of all the farm youth can really expect to find careers as operators of the adequate sized commercial farms.

In view of this, most of the youth will either have to look for non-farm jobs within their own communities, or move out of the farm population to join the exodus to the urban communities and centers (Mirengoff, 1963:348). For most of them, migration from their rural communities of orientation has become both a necessity and a natural expectation on their entry into the labor force. However, the relocation of rural youth to urban areas can only be advantageous if migrating rural youth possess the "skills to match the growing demands in urban centers for better educated and well trained employees" (S.V. Merrick, 1965: 103). But many rural youth tend to be

> ...seriously disadvantaged socially, economically and educationally and often fail to receive the sufficient preparation to bridge the gap between getting by in a rural environment and becoming contributing citizens in an urban society (Lee G. Burchinal, 1963:V).

This further compounds the rural youth adjustment problem. Not only do many of them have to "deflect" their chosen life goals and expectations and adjust to a non-farm way of life, but also in migrating to the urban centers, they are in a disadvantaged position to compete with other people for the available opportunities in these new communities of destination. This problem is briefly summarized in the following paragraph.

> ...migration is central to any discussion of rural youth in modern society. All but a small portion of farm youth will have to pursue non-farm careers. Most rural youth, by choice or necessity, will be attracted to large metropolitan complexes. Too frequently, these rural youth lack the resources needed for earning an adequate living and for developing a satisfying and meaningful life in the cities to which they go (Lee G. Burchinal, 1963:V).

Some Specific Factors Related to the Migration of Rural Youth

In an attempt to examine and identify some of the many interrelated factors that "push" rural youth from their homes and "pull" them toward the cities, G.K. Bowles (1964: 273-277) has discussed four major perspectives relevant to the explanation of this social phenomenon as summarized below under the following headings (factors).

A. Social Norms and Personal Aspirations of Rural Youth

Generally, most rural youth possess the same kinds of aspirations and ambitions as their urban counterparts. Their goals, orientations, aspirations and expectations may compel them to move to the cities in order for such goal attainment or, at least to obtain the means towards these ends. Some of the reasons and motivations resulting from these youths' personal goals and aspirations, causing them to migrate to the cities are listed below: (Bowles, 1963:274)

(i) Some rural youth may have desires to be even more urbanized than urban youth.

(ii) The discrepancy between what a rural youth has and what he aspires to have, often creates frustrations and dissatisfactions which compels him to seek possible solutions and gratification in the cities.

(iii) Most of the higher prestige jobs like, doctors, dentists, toolmakers etc. are typically found in the cities or urban areas. This provides a powerful motivating force for the many young people who have such occupational aspirations and expectations, to move to the cities to firstly, obtain the necessary training, education and skills for such jobs; and then to get such jobs.

(iv) Many rural youth may be attracted to the cities because of better availability of recreation and sport facilities like theaters, museums, restaurants, etc.

(v) With the dim prospects of farming as a career and the changing demands in agricultural labor needs even those youth who may have less urban-oriented aspirations may have to move to the cities; if at all, to gain a satisfactory means of livelihood, to maintain close friendship ties with their peers (most of whom have moved or intend to move to the cities) and for better social and economic life chances.

B. Population Pressure

Overpopulation together with other environmental factors have been stressed by various population analysts including Hawley (1950:328-330) and others as determinants of migration. The relation of numbers of people to opportunities in a given area indicates population pressure. Overpopulation may effectively stimulate migration if a condition of under-population in some alternative area exists; and if there is effective, accurate communication systems to diffuse the necessary knowledge of the availability of such opportunities in these alternate areas of residence to the existing population. In reference to the population pressure in the rural areas, G.K. Bowles (1963:

275) commented that the persisting higher rural than urban birth rates may have significantly contributed to creating "overpopulation" in these areas, forcing the surplus rural population to be siphoned off and be absorbed in the cities and metropolitan areas.

C. Social and Economic Conditions

While it is quite evident that numerous social and economic factors are related to migration, Bowles (1963: 275) pointed out that the precise role of each factor and their combined influences on migration are not so clear. Bowles also listed a vast array of closely related factors to be included in the social and economic conditions influencing migration (1963:275).

> Conditions of employment, industrialization, technology, housing, and wage rates are related to migration rates. Migrants differ from non-migrants as to age, sex, marital status, education, income, employment, and color. Shifting demands for labor in various localities and ups and downs of the business cycle have been accompanied by shifting patterns of migration.

In addition, Bowles also points out that studies of net migration in the north central states by P.J. Jehlik and R.E. Wakely (1955) and others have related various agricultural and industrial factors to the departures and migration from farms and rural areas. These factors were:

> (a) a reduction in the number of farms, (b) an increase in farm mechanization, (c) a reduction in the use of

> hired labor on farms, (d) an increase in farm production, and (e) change in farm levels of living.

D. Social Status and Social Mobility

Although not conclusive and still awaiting the affirmation of additional research, Bowles (1963:276) has projected that there are strong indications that both social status and social mobility are important to migration. Bowles referred to some recent studies done by Philip G. Olson (1960) which found that dual mobility - job or status and residential - was higher among high status young persons (between 31 to 42 years of age) with college level education.

E. Family and Community Factors

Various factors in the family and community of rural youth were viewed by Bowles (1963:276-277) as influencing their decision to migrate and subsequent migration performances. The youths' definition of the situation in terms of his family's social economic position and his relationship with his family were discussed as one of the motivating forces which might either compel a teenage youth to leave his parental home, or exert a powerful restraining force to keep him from moving away. Strong family cohesion as expressed through the daily living together in family work and play, may also affect migration. However, it was noted that this strong influence of family cohesion in rural areas as compared to urban ones, may be shifting in the direction of encouraging or even permitting migration as the American rural family system undergo various changes in values, beliefs, etc.

Parents and other family members play an important part in influencing the goal orientations and ambitions of many youths, serving as a constant source of stimulation, incentive and motivation for them to become ambitious and successful. They directly or indirectly affect the youths ultimate decision to migrate and where he must go in order to satisfy his own desires and achieve success towards goal attainment.

Bowles has also listed some community factors which may influence rural youth migration rates. They are as follows:

1. Popularity of the community and/or its desirability as a place of residence.
2. The availability of various facilities and resources in the community.
3. The geographic location of the community and its relative accessibility to larger towns and cities in terms of time and distance.
4. The prospects of youth development and prosperity of the communities themselves.

These factors affecting the migration behavior of rural youth as discussed by Bowles, suggest a sociological explanation for their migration behavior. It also identifies some of the relevant variables that should be investigated in the study of rural to urban migration of youth. Furthermore, it helps us to visualize the phenomenon in the context of the theoretical perspectives reviewed at the beginning of this chapter.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF PAST STUDIES

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter includes a systematic review of past publications and research findings relevant to this thesis. Particular emphasis is placed on previous studies dealing with migration performance, residential orientations and status projections of youth. It is hoped that the relevant ideas, theories, conceptual approaches and research findings in these past studies will provide significant background knowledge for understanding the study problem, as it was developed in Chapter I, as well as give some empirical evidence and support for the theoretical orientation developed in Chapter II.

The systematic review of literature will be carried out in the following manner. First, selected studies in the area of internal migration, with particular emphasis on rural-urban migration patterns of youth, will be presented. This presentation will include summaries of the research findings regarding the volume and distance of internal migration patterns/performances of youth relevant to this study. Second, migration study approaches and findings seeking to explain this social phenomena, in terms of its selectivity by race, sex, and other factors including attitudes and orientations towards residence, migration and the local community will be presented. Lastly, important previous studies dealing with youth residential aspirations and expectations and the conceptual framework of reference used in these studies, as they relate to migration performance will be reviewed.

II. GENERAL MIGRATION STUDIES

Most of the early research on migration was primarily demographic and descriptive in nature. Many of these studies were for the purpose of developing an instrument or technique for measuring the differentials and trends of migration among the various sub-classes of population. It has been noted by Nam (1968:334) that not many of these studies attempted to identify and analyze the factors underlying migration. However, the cataloguing of research findings lead to the formulation of a conceptual scheme for migration.

As early as 1885, E.G. Ravenstein published "The Laws of Migration" in which he attempted to formulate generalizations that describe the movement of people at all times and at all places. These generalizations were based upon the analysis of census data for Great Britain, other parts of Europe and the U.S. He derived seven such laws or generalizations as discussed below:

(1) Migration and Distance. The great body of migrants move only a short distance. As the distance from a certain place increases, there are fewer migrants who would move from that place.

(2) Migration by Stages. People tend to move in the direction of great centers of commerce and industry. Persons living near large cities migrate when economic expansion occurs. The opportunities they forsake at home are filled by migrants from more remote parts in the hinterland. As a result, the expansion of the city exerts a gradual impact, that reaches the outer limits of the hinterland. Migration from rural to urban and from urban to rural areas generally proceed by stages.

(3) Streams and Counterstreams. To every stream of migration, there is a counterstream, or each main current of migration produces a compensating counter current.

(4) Urban-Rural Differences in Propensity to Migrate. Urban populations are less migratory than the rural populations.

(5) Predominance of Females Among Short Distance Migrants. Females are more migratory than males, especially in short distance migrations.

(6) Technology and Migration. Technological development tends to promote greater rates of migration.

(7) Dominance of the Economic Motive. Although a variety of forces can produce migration, the desire of the masses to improve their economic condition is by far the most potent force.

Nam (1964) pointed out that although there is still a great deal of validity in these "laws" or generalizations today, a more suitable model with a situational approach like the "push-pull obstacle" model is more appropriate to explain migration since Ravenstein's model attempted to develop "principles" that are either independent of situations or covers all of them.

Dorothy S. Thomas (1938) evaluated the state of existing knowledge regarding migration differentials by age, sex, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation, motivation and assimilation; and concluded that almost no acceptable generalizations could be made regarding the strength and direction of selective internal migration. She attributed this to the lack of adequate data and measurement techniques available at that time.

Early works of Stewart, Zipf and Stouffer represent another approach to the formulation of migration principles stating the relationships between the volume of migration and the distance between areas. John Q. Stewart (1942) proposed that the number of migrants into an area is a function of the number of people residing in other areas divided by the distance those areas were from the area of destination.

Zipf (1968) hypothesized that the number of migrants between any two communities is proportionate to the product of their populations divided by the shortest transportation distance, (other factors such as income level, unemployment, etc. being equal). This hypothesis is often expressed in terms of the formula P_1P_2/D in which P_1 is the population of one community, P_2 is the population of the other community, and D the shortest distance between the two communities. Sometimes it is referred to as the P_1P_2/D hypothesis, the hypothesis of the intercity movement of persons, or the minimum equation hypothesis.

Samuel Stouffer (1940) offered the "intervening opportunities" theory asserting that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.

Most of these theoretical formulations and hypothesis relating the volume of migration to distance have been at least, partically supported by empirical evidence. The principal value of these research efforts is that they are attempts to estimate the size of migration streams. They do not provide an explanation as to why people migrate (Nam, 1968:335).

The Volume of Internal Migration

Everett S. Lee (1966:47-57) has formulated a series of hypotheses concerning the volume of migration under varying conditions. These are briefly listed below:

(1) The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory: - assuming that migration results in part from a consideration of positive and negative factors at origin and destination, then a high degree of diversity among areas should result in high levels of migration.

(2) The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people: - a diversity of people implying the existence of groups that are specially fitted for given pursuits e.g. the Chinese are laundry operators, the Greeks are restaurant owners, etc.

(3) The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles which is an important consideration in the decision to migrate.

(4) The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy: - business cycles affect the migrants'

potential comparison and evaluation of the positive and negative factors at origins and destination, for example, during depressions.

(5) Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time: (with the increasing diversity of areas and people and the diminution of intervening variables through time).

(6) The volume and rate of migration vary with the state of progress in a country or area.

The Distance of Internal Migration

The greater volume of internal migration in the country generally involves short-distance moves (rural-urban and city-suburban migrations generally), but longer distance moves are fairly frequent (Nam, 1968:334). Shryock (1964) has indicated in his analysis of recent migration patterns in the U.S. that many people move to distant counties within a state, from state to state within a region and one region to another. Usually, about 1/2 the persons who leave a county migrate to a different state and 1/2 of these migrants will pass through neighboring states to reach more distant areas. Successive moves may then remove the migrant farther from the place of origin (Lee, 1964:123).

Relating the volume to the distance of migration, David M. Heer (1968:76) has attempted to explain how the "price" of migration affects both these characteristics relatedly. He defined the "price system" as the expenditure of resources needed which is both a "precondition to and a concomitant" of migration. For many migrants the "price" of migration is largely monetary expense of moving. Since the cost of migration generally varies in direct proportion to the distance traveled, the number of migrants to a given place tends to vary inversely with the distance.

III. STUDIES IN THE SELECTIVITY OF MIGRATION

Some effects of the selective aspect of migration on population have already been noted. Indeed the selectivity of migration is almost as important as the volume of migration (Lee, 1964:128). Research in the selectivity of migration is generally based on the proposition that certain variable characteristics of persons and/or places may affect the process; and the implicit assumption that if no selectivity is present, then the characteristics of persons who have left any designated area should follow the same distribution as those who have remained, within the limit of chance variation (Suval, 1972:5-6). Hypothetically then, the various "push" or "pull" factors including the various elements in the social, physical and/or ecological environment "influencing" individual migration behavior would operate equally on every person. But migration is selective because migrants are not a random sample of the population and different persons will respond differently to the positive and negative factors related to their places of origin and destination; each with different abilities and capacities to overcome the various sets of intervening obstacles, because of different personal characteristics and other factors (Lee, 1968:191).

Suval (1972:11) has asserted that past research on migration selectivity demonstrated clearly that migration behavior is related to age, sex, and race. The nature of these relationships depending on various factors affecting the origin and destination of migrants, distance, time period and space. She noted that much of these research efforts had focused on the differential quality of migrants in rural to urban migration streams, mostly directed towards verifying or rejecting the two basic assertions that:

> 1. There was concern at the points of origin, i.e., in the rural farm and village areas, that the "best" elements as measured by such characteristics as education, social class, intelligence and leadership, were being syphoned off to the cities, leaving only the least fit to lead and breed. Ross's famous "fished out ponds" statement (1926) exemplifies this position.

> 2. There was concern at the points of destination, i.e., the cities, that the residents were being overwhelmed with the arrival of large numbers of "poor" quality stock, creating severe social and economic problems. Incidentally, these two positions are not antithetical where profound differences exist between the characteristics of the sending and receiving populations (Suval, 1972:11-12).

Approaches to the Study of Migration Selectivity

Presently, at least four major approaches to the study of migration selectivity may be identified in the literature. These are listed and discussed briefly according to Suval (1972:12-13) who has done an exhaustive literature review in this area:

(1) The ecological approach which focuses on the movement and distribution of persons in space by characteristics of places rather than by characteristics of persons, which is especially useful for interpreting the signficance of origins and destinations of various persons with varying characteristics.

(2) The demographic approach which focuses on characteristics of groups or characteristics of persons rather than places, studying age, sex, race and a variety of other characteristics; usually comparing migrants with all nonmigrants, with nonmigrants at the source, or with population at destination or both.

(3) The sociological approach which attempts to connect the observed significant characteristics of

migrants with the particular social systems and their functions in terms of patterns of formal and informal organizational participation, value systems of the culture and subculture, etc.; and interpreting these selectivity patterns with sociological theory.

(4) The social psychological approach which recognizes migration as an individual decision-making process, focusing on attitudes and motivations of migrants, linking moves to personality adjustment or personality types.

Characteristics of Migrants and Other Factors Related to the Selectivity of Migration.

These various approaches to the study of migration selectivity have identified and analyzed many factors including various social, economic, and cultural characteristics of migrants related to the selective nature of the process and migration performances. Suval (1972:35) has summarized these "status assignment and psychosocial characteristics" of migrants into three major classes of variables:

A. Basic Demographic or Social Category Variables: Age, sex, race, etc. These are physical attributes that constitute social categories because they are perceived in the American culture as having social consequences in terms of differential role expectations. They are relatively significant to migration only within this social-cultural context rather than through any quality inherent in the characteristics themselves.

B. Social Stratification Variables: Occupation status, social economic status, etc. These are important variables significantly related to economic motives in migration. Such patterns reflect the relation of social and economic traits with the vertical mobility of migrants.

C. Psychosocial Variables: Intelligence, leadership or eminence, motivation,etc. These variables indirectly affect ultimate goal attainment, successful adjustment, and gratification of needs and desires of migrants through their decision making process to migrate.

Some of the significant variables in migration selectivity and performances have been identified by various researchers in past studies. E.S. Brown (1957) summarized research findings (especially those related to rural-urban migration) as follows:

(1) Females leave rural areas, especially farms in disproportionately larger numbers and at an earlier age than males.

(2) The bulk of rural-urban migration begins at age 16 and is over by age 30.

(3) While a majority of migratory youth in their first move settle near their parents' homes, the better educated go farther.

(4) The greater the distance a migrant moves, the more likely it is that his destination is a large city.

(5) The youth of tenant families are more mobile than those of owner families, but they move shorter distances.

(6) Males, though less migratory than females, travel further.

(7) Nearby cities attract disproportionately larger proportions of unskilled workers from rural areas, while more distant and larger cities attract a higher proportion of the more capable and professional workers.

(8) Younger families are more mobile than older ones and small farm operators are more mobile than those with large holdings.

(9) Families with a number of organizational contacts in the community are less mobile than those with fewer contacts.

(10) Rate of migration tends to vary with urban economic conditions.

Martin's study (1955) revealed some of the social and economic characteristics of off-farm migration in

Wakeley County, Tennessee. Compared to the nonmigrants, most of the migrants were of a younger age group and a significantly higher proportion of them were married. His study also found that most of the information concerning non-farm employment in the distant cities (potential destinations) was exclusively provided by members of family and friends from their community, who had moved to these cities.

In a study of the type of persons involved in farm-non-farm migration by age, sex, and color composition, Gladys K. Bowles (1956) employed 1940-1950 U.S. Census data to conclude that rates of net outmigration were usually higher for non-whites than for whites. White females generally had higher rates of net outmigration than white males in most age groups, and this same relationship was found to exist between the rates for nonwhite males and females.

Bowles (1958) also researched migration patterns in the South with special emphasis on the movement of young people. She found the South to have a 60 per cent loss of all the total net annual migration losses for the nation, either through the movement to and from farms or through the changes in the classification of residences. Predicting that this trend would continue into the 70's, she concluded that at least a minimum of 50 per cent of the farm young men will be looking for employment opportunities outside of agriculture, and that a substantial proportion of these young people would migrate from farms to seek such opportunities. Doeflinger and Douglas (1960) found age-sex selectivity of migrants to exist in Price County, Wisconsin, while similar patterns of rural outmigration were noted in Arkansas by Brown and Peterson (1960). Population change in these areas of high outmigration resulted in a high dependence ratio in the "residual" population and also a lower population density. This affected the availability and cost of services (Doeflinger and Douglas, 1960).

Sex as a Selective Factor in Migration Performance

Sex, as a critical variable in migration performance, is evident from these past migration studies. Bogue (1957) found that males exceeded females in intercounty migration rates in the United States from 1935 to 1956, although the differences were small. Hamilton, (1936) in a study of rural outmigration, found that young females were leaving home approximately three years earlier in life than young males. The proportion leaving home at a given age was higher for females than for males up to age 22, after which the male proportions exceeded the female proportion.

Females were also found to predominate in farm to city migration in studies by Anderson (1935), Zimmerman and Smith (1930), and Brunner (1957).

The tendency for males to migrate longer distances was noted by Bogue and Thompson (1949), Brunner (1957), and in the United States Bureau of the Census Reports (1962). E.S. Lee (1964:129) also noted that males predominated in long distance migration, although very little differences existed between males and females for shorter distance moves.

Males generally have higher migration rates than females. This has been reflected in various studies in the United States which show persistently excess overall mobility rates of males over that of females (Shryock, 1964:348). The sex ratio of movers tended to increase with the distance spanned; and this pattern specified by age showed that from 14-19 years, girls are considerably more mobile than boys; but that from 20 to 54 years, men are more mobile than women (Shryock, 1964:348); showing that the sexes have about the same mobility rates at the youngest and oldest ages.

Often, the mobility of women and children tend to be derivative of adult male mobility to take jobs in other areas, because of changing family cycle influences, etc.

(Shryock, 1964:348). Marriage also is often attended by migration and the females usually marry at younger ages. All these may affect migration rates by age, sex, etc.

The age, sex selectivity of migration was also found to be prominent in a study by A.L. Bertrand (1958) of the U.S. rural population. He reported that young people in their late teens and early twenties, and females, tended to leave the farms in greater proportions than others.

Race as a Selective Factor in Migration Performance

In the review of literature made, race frequently was also found to be a factor in differential migration patterns (Suval, 1972:38). Despite the considerable and persistent flow of Negroes out of the Deep South, (comparatively) the non-whites have lower migration rates than whites.

> Even for interregional migration which is significantly important for Negroes, the migration rates between non-contiguous states for non-whites seldom approach those for whites. Non-whites also lag in "middle distance moves" (Shryock, 1964:347).

Shryock believes that knowledge of opportunities existing at a distance and the financial ability to make the move (being on the average less for Negroes than whites) has significantly affected this differential migration performance.

In contrast, Bogue (1969:763) has pointed out that the non-white population is substantially more mobile than the white population. He notes that the migration of the former population is comprised of more young adults (expecially the Negroes) and their mobility is heavily concentrated in the form of local movement.

The color differential in migration was also studied by Tower (1955). He revealed migration rates for Negroes was higher than for whites (at least in the South). He also noted that the increased Negro dispersion to other parts of the nation is becoming an increasingly significant problem. In 1940, the South had the highest proportion of Negroes in the nation. Most of them were located in rural farm areas. However, this has changed with the net migration rates of the Negroes from the Southern farms towards the cities (Walker, 1957). Between 1940 to 1960, the Negro metropolitan population in the nation increased from 5.8 to 12.2 million (Hamilton, 1964). Virtually all the Negro migrants from the South settled in the large metropolitan areas of the North and West, especially in the central cities (Hamilton, 1964). A definite migration pattern was observed in Kentucky which appeared to be a "way point" receiving inmigrants from dense Negro population areas in the South (Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi), sending its own Negro population to the states further North (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan) (Coleman, Pryor & Christansen, 1956).

Bogue (1969:763) stated that by 1904, a very substantial majority of the Negro population had already exited from rural areas of the South, and on their arrival at metropolitan destinations (in the North), they appeared to have little inclination to migrate further. He added that after a period of assimilation and adjustment in these metropolitan destinations, the Negroes will undoubtedly begin to suburbanize or move from one metropolitan area to another. Since both these types of movements involve crossing of county lines and hence, are defined as migration; they contribute to the high rates of local residential turnover among Negroes.

Shryock (1964:347) has also pointed out that Negroes frequently change their places of residence between/or in the ghetto-like areas within large cities. The high rates of short distance mobility, reflecting the instability of the Negroes, may be indicated by the high proportion of families headed by women only or with grandparents (Shryock, 1964:347). Bogue (1969:763) added that it may possibly reflect their struggle for better housing facilities.

One of the "Laws of Migration" proposed by Ravenstein (1885) proves to be true in examining these population migration patterns in the South. The emergence and presence of counter currents and streams of inmigration into the South in contrast to the high outmigration movement of the non-white population is clearly observed. Bogue (1969:764) has noted that most of these inmigrants are white. This influx of both black and white migrants into the South is explained by Shryock (1964) as follows:

> The Negro teacher reared and educated in the North usually finds a job most readily in the segregated schools of the Southern states. Also, increasingly white workers are finding economic opportunities in professional and managerial positions in the booming industries of the South and Southwest even though the less skilled whites continue to leave Southern rural areas for factory jobs in Northern cities.

Other Factors (Orientations Towards Career Goals, Place of Residence and Local Community and Migration) in Selective Migration Performance

Race and sex together with a host of other factors (socio-cultural, economic and personal) and the interrelationship between these factors affect the selectivity of migrants in differential migration performance. Past migration studies have identified some of these other variables including the potential migrant's (e.g. the rural youth's) orientations towards his career goals, place of residence, his local community and the migration act itself as critical in affecting his migration performance. The remaining sections of this chapter will review some of these studies and their research findings. The conceptual framework of reference used in past youth status projection studies will also be briefly discussed.

Attitudes Towards Migration, Community Satisfaction and Migration Performance

In a study of 1770 Minnesota high school students, R.E. Forman (1959) analyzed some attitudinal aspects of migration and revealed that in considering conditions which might keep them in the community or make them move, the students' responses appeared to be determined not by the conditions themselves, but by their mobility attitudes and community satisfactions. H.F. Goldsmith (1962), from a study of migration expectations of high school students in Michigan, concluded that community satisfactions and the degree to which expectations can be met outside the primary community affect independently the students desire to migrate. Also, overall evidence indicated that obligations in the migrants' community of origin played a critical role in determining consideration of migration.

Buck and Brown (1959) researched the extent to which place of residence in childhood and early youth affected differentiating processes of spatial and occupational mobility. Their findings redefined the hypothesis of marked differentiation between socio-economic features of farm reared and rural-non-farm reared young adults. They concluded that residence has varying importance depending upon the other factors being investigated, and upon the time at which investigation occurred.

Attitudes towards local situations and toward migration in general of nonmigrants were studied by M. Rubin (1958). This study on localism and related values among Negroes in Houston and its surrounding countryside, confirmed that migration was directed specifically toward industrial cities where close relatives already lived and worked. The young persons were drained off to urban areas in search of higher wages; and the older generation that once preferred country living has changed their point of view in favor of northern industrial cities.

The values of rural living in high school youths was studied by Anderson (1953), who compared two samples of high school seniors from two different parts of the U.S. Employing an adjusted Cornell Rural Living Opinion Scale, the results of the study showed that both the male and female students were more favorable towards living in the rural environment. This varied with their place of residence, the more rural their place of residence, the stronger was their support for rural living. The desirability toward living on a farm was also studied by Daniel D. Dry (1941). His findings revealed no difference between male and female students in attitudes towards farm living. On the average, students preferred to spend vacations on farms. Community size was found to have different effects in attitudes towards farm living. It was observed that as students from rural areas ascend the educational scale, they develop less favorable attitudes toward farm living.

Career Goal and Mobility Orientations and Migration Performance

Raymond Payne (1956) attempted to study how, when, and in what situations adolescents, as members of a community learn about or develop and evaluate occupational, educational and migration alternatives. His study showed that generally, informal, interpersonal situations contributed most to the formation of such expectations. Educational expectations were typically first formed, followed by the occupational choice, with the decision concerning future place of residence being dependent upon the first two. Boys aware of, and those who chose, occupations with prestige above parents (especially more urbanlike occupations) usually expected to leave their parental communities to live and work as adults.

Socio-cultural factors influencing the career-decision making processes of youths in terms of their occupational, educational, migration aspirations, and expectations related to migration performances, have been emphasized in recent migration research. Schwarzweller (1960) and Yoesting, Beal, and Bohlen (1969), in their studies of high school youths found that proportionately more females than males expected or planned to migrate from their home communities, and actually did so; with the former migrating at faster rates than the latter being noted only in the 1969 study. The propensity to migrate was essentially the same for farm and non-farm males (Schwarzeller, 1960); farm and non-farm females (Yoesting, Beal & Bohlen, 1969); and was significantly related to the socio-economic backgrounds of youth.

A majority of the youth expressed preference for living in or near urban areas (2/3 of the girls and 1/2 of the boys) (Schwarzweller, 1960). Youth who often discussed their future plans with their parents and aspired to higher education would be more likely to migrate (Yoesting, Beal & Bohlen, 1969).

The migration behavior of a sample of high school seniors was studied by Harp, Morton and Ruff (1967). Between 1962 (at the time of graduation) and 1967 (the time of the follow-up study), more than 80% of the respondents had changed their place of residence, and about 47% of them had remained within the county. Various factors such as the socio-economic status of the students' family, education of father, high school curriculum, mental aptitude and identification with community were associated with the migration behavior of the respondents. Education of the mother, residential background (rural or urban) and size of high school were not significantly related to migration. Of those respondents who had carried out their vocational and educational plans, 73 per cent maintained consistancy between plans to migrate and actually doing so. The particular significance of this latter finding in pointing out the interrelatedness of migration and occupational choice for high school youth was noted. They concluded that selective migration is influenced by certain differential opportunities afforded the individual. Those possessing higher success goals and higher differential opportunities generally exhibited the highest rates of migration. In this regard, it suggested that the migration of males is more clearly associated with the differential opportunity factors than females and that males are more influenced by implications of the "success" theme.

Residential and Migration Status Projections Related to Migration Performance

In their study of four rural Michigan counties, Cowhig, Artis, Beegle and Goldsmith (1960) showed that about 70 per cent of all rural high school seniors planned to leave the community following graduation. Males living on farms mostly planned to remain in their home communities. A majority of the females living in towns or villages planned to leave their home communities. However, despite having plans to migrate, about 60 per cent of the students indicated that they preferred their community as a place of residence after graduation and getting married. Farm males exhibited the most favorable attitudes toward their home community while village females showed the least favorable attitudes, and well over 1/2 of all the students would remain in their home community if jobs were available to them.

In three Florida counties, a similar study of the career plans of Negro and white rural youth was done by Youmans, Grigsby and King (1962). Their report on the findings of the study revealed that:

> More Negro than white boys and girls planned to leave their present counties when they finished high school. However, if the young people had good jobs, almost equal proportions of both Negro and white said they would remain in the rural area. On the other hand, if they had good jobs and were given a preference, more of the Negro than white youth preferred to live in a large city; the white girls favored a medium sized city; very few youths preferred a small town; and the white boys gave strong preference for living in the country (Youmans, Grigsby & King, 1962:16).

The residential status projections of rural youth and their implications for migration performance was studied in greater detail by Kuvlesky and Pelham (1967). They attempted to assess the current status of knowledge on place of residence projections through a racial comparison of the aspirations and expectations of rural youth, using data from a recent Texas study. Their approach to residential orientation utilized the analytical framework which has in recent times been used often to explore and analyze the educational and occupational status goal orientations and projections of rural youth. This conceptual approach will be described in detail following the discussion of the findings of this study.

This study showed that large proportions of white and Negro youth desired urban status; and this was true more for Negroes than whites and more for females than males. Negro youth were more likely to desire residence in a large city than their white counterparts. In terms of proximity to a city, generally a majority of the rural youth wanted to live either in or near a city; only a few indicated a desire to live away from the city. White youth were more inclined to desire residence near, but not in an urban place, than Negro youth.

A Conceptual Model for Residential Status Projections of Rural Youth

The same conceptual approach to the study of residential status projections of youth as employed in Kuvlesky and Pelham's (1967) study (discussed previously) has been adopted for this thesis relating residential status projections of rural youth to their migration performance. It is pertinent here to study this conceptual model in greater detail.

Bowles (1965:273-287) had indicated that the aspirations held by rural youths have led to dissatisfaction with rural areas, causing many to migrate from these areas. In the past decade, an increasing amount of attention and effort has been devoted to the status goal projections and career goal orientations of youth, especially those from the rural areas. A large number of these research efforts have concentrated on the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of rural youth. Most of these studies evolved from the assumption that aspirations of youth are crucial or at least highly important in determining subsequent educational occupational attainment.

Kuvlesky (1970) with Beale (1966), Pelham (1968), Ohlendorf (1968), Haller (1968), Picou (1970), and others have devised various analytical tools and conceptual schemes to examine and study the status projections of youth towards occupation and education.

Status Aspirations and Expectations

In studying stratification and goal orientation variables that affect or help to explain subsequent goal attainment levels, various operational definitions and interpretations of the concepts "aspirations" and "expectations" have evolved. Social psychologists like Lewin (1939:868-897) have referred to the cognitive orientation aspect of goal-directed behavior as "level of aspiration". He distinguished between "real" and "ideal" aspirations in that the former is what the person thought he might really be able to attain and the latter being what he hoped to attain if all went well.

In the conceptual scheme used to study youth's orientation toward future status attainment, Kuvlesky (1970) has stated that there are basically two types of status projections - one involving desire (aspirations) and the other, anticipation of attainment (expectation). Each of these projections consists of two dimensions: (1) usually indicated by rank-levels and (2) the strength of orientation (intensity of desire and certainty of expectation).

An aspiration is defined as "a person's or a grouping of persons' orientation towards a goal" and may be broken down into three analytical elements: (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966:269)

(1) A person or persons

(2) Wanting (having an orientation toward or about)

(3) A social object (i.e. a goal)

Each of these elements are variable. This is one way in which individuals differ psychologically in terms of the goals and orientation aspects they possess.

"Goals can vary in kind and are usually described in reference to a particular social status or status attitude (occupation, income, education, residence, etc.)" (Kuvlesky & Bealer, 1966:270). These kinds of statuses may be referred to as goal-areas and at any one time a person is oriented toward a number of goal areas (he may desire an occupation, a residence, an education, an income, and many other social objects). One may further specify in his orientation of these status areas, the specific levels of income, types of residence, occupation, level of education, etc.

An expectation is defined as "the individual's estimation of his probable attainment in reference to a particular goal area, i.e. what occupational position he wants to reach" (Kuvlesky & Bealer, 1966:273). The rational for distinguishing between these two concepts as pointed out by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966:273) is that the object involved in an expectation is anticipated and may or may not be desired by the individual himself. Thus, aspirations and expectations may vary independently of each other giving rise to anticipatory goal deflection (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968:144).

Generally, aspirations are first shaped. Expectations evolve as modifications of aspirations, due to perceived limitations, blockages, or strong directive pressures (Kuvlesky, 1970). The relationship between aspirations and expectations, when they diverge, is an analytically separable element representing degree of modification of aspirations, termed "anticipatory goal deflection" to represent the potential divergence.

The occurrence of anticipatory goal deflection (e.g. incongruent occupational aspirations and expectation) may have "some actual bearing on felt deprivations, psychological and social satisfactions, self image, and perhaps directly or indirectly on social interaction" (Kuvlesky, 1960:41).

Picou (1972:15-21) has developed a three dimensional conceptualization scheme for adolescents' educational projections. He noted that extensive past research in this area has stated the utility of analytically distinguishing between educational aspirations and expectations. An educational aspiration refers to the amount of education a youth desires to obtain, while an education expectation connotes the amount of education a youth really expects or anticipates attaining (Juarez, 1968; Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968). Picou, (1972:15-21) supporting Juarez (1968) and Kuvlesky (1969) in their statement that the above dimension of conceptual framework ignores the actual intentions of youth with regard to future status attainment, operationalized three analytical dimensions: (1) ideal educational aspirations, (2) intended educational aspirations and (3) educational expectation. These three dimensions, he asserted, would take into account the "reality" that confronts adolescents throughout the process of projected status attainment.

An ideal educational aspiration refers to the amount of education a youth desires if he were completely free to obtain any amount of schooling he wanted; an intended educational aspiration reflects the amount of education a persons desires and will actively attempt to attain; an educational expectation is the amount of education a person anticipates receiving in light of his own personal ability, the opportunities that exists for him, etc. (Picou, 1972: 15-16).

Residential Status Projection: Aspirations and Expectations

The utility of the general conceptual scheme for the analysis and study of other status goal projection areas (beyond occupation and education) including residential aspirations and expectations has been demonstrated by Kuvlesky and Pelham (1967). Using this conceptual framework for the study of place of residence orientations, we can distinctly outline two major types of status orientations of residence, which are differentiated on the basis of the nature of orientation toward status areas.

1. Residential Aspirations - which refers to the desire for the attainment of a status or goal in terms of the place of residence.
2. Residential Expectation - which refers to the anticipation of attaining a place of residence status, whether it is so desired or not.

Presently, knowledge concerning residential aspirations and expectations of youth is very limited. It is insufficient to enable us to draw firm generalizations concerning residential status projections of youth (as pointed out by Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1967). But based on the limited research efforts in this area and their findings (particularly the study by Youman, Grigsby & King, 1965 in Florida and the Texas study by Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1967), the following generalizations regarding rural youth residential status projections may be made (Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1967).

1. That many white boys and a majority of white girls and Negro youth of both sexes desire to live in urban places.
2. That very few youth desire to live in small towns.
3. That girls desire urban status to a greater extent than boys, particularly among white youth.
4. That Negro youth desire urban status to a greater extent than white youth, particularly among boys.
5. That white boys are unique in the extent to which they desire to live in the country.
6. That Negro girls are less likely to desire country residence and more likely to desire city residence than other youth.

IV. CONCLUSION

A review of the relevant research findings and conceptual approaches related to the major dependent and independent variables of concern in this thesis has been made. This provides the theoretical and conceptual background for the conceptual framework and research hypotheses to be tested and presented in the following chapters of the thesis.

CHAPTER IV

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND SAMPLE DESIGN

I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will describe the conceptual framework and operationally define the analytical concepts used in this thesis. The Sample Design employed in this research will also be described. The chapter concludes with a listing of the specific objectives and research hypotheses to be tested in this study.

II. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

The conceptual framework developed for this study may be seen as an attempt to adapt the general conceptual framework of reference used in past youth status projection studies into the general overall "push-pull" theory of differential migration. A simplified scheme is presented to illustrate the conceptual model for the study.

High School Graduation - A Time for Decisions

Upon high school graduation, rural youths will have to make decisions concerning their future life careers and goals. They must decide whether to enter the labor force as a full-time worker, continue their education in college, or obtain some further vocational or skill training. For the females, the decision may be one of the above, or to get married and become a housewife, or decide on a combination of these goals. For most of these young adults, this is a period for major decisions regarding their future. One of the major decisions to be made by each individual is whether or not he or she should migrate and if so, to what types of communities and the range they will travel.

Factors Affecting the Decision Making Process of Youths Concerning Status Goal Definition and Migration Performance

The decisions to be made by youths is dependent on a host of complex and interrelated factors (social, cultural, economic and ecological) associated with their goal status projections. Youth generally have various goal status projections in a number of different but related status goal areas (income, education, occupation, place of residence, etc., including a projected "migration status") (Kuvlesky, 1970).

Goal Status Projections

These goal status projections of youth may be conceived of having two dimensions: Aspirations and expectations. The utility and validity of distinguishing between these two dimensional aspects of youth status

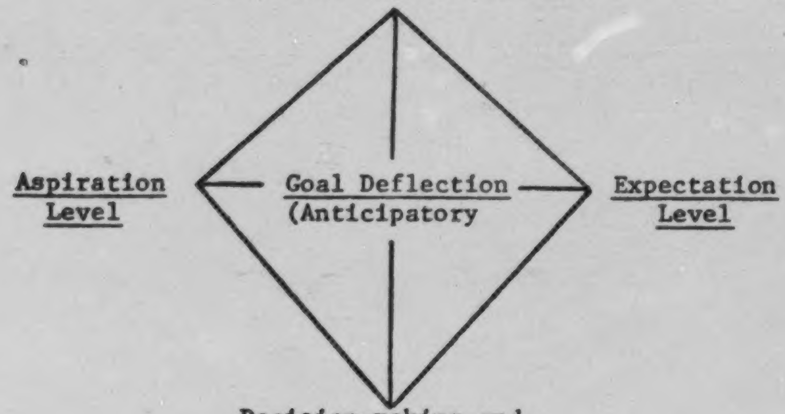
THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: A Simplified Schema for the Study

FACTORS AFFECTING GOAL STATUS PROJECTIONS AND MIGRATION PERFORMANCE

(Social, Cultural, Economic and Ecological) E.g.:

The Cultural "Success" Theme
Differential Race and Sex Life Styles, Sub-cultures
Family Factors
Personal Factors
Factors at Community of Destination and Origin,
Etc.

Internalization of goals,
Values, norms, etc. effecting
Status Goal Projections
(Income, Occupation, Education, Place of
Residence, Migration, Etc.)



Decision-making and
Goal Definition
(Income, Occupation, Education, Residence,
Migration Performance, Etc.)

Migration Performance
(Range, Type of Destination, Frequency, Etc.)

Towards Goal Attainment

projections is well substantiated in past studies in this area. (The rationale being that the social object involved in an expectation is anticipated and may or may not be desired by an individual). Reviewing briefly, it may be recalled that:

1. Aspirations are defined as a person's or grouping of persons' orientation towards a goal comprising the three identifiable analytical elements of (a) a person or persons, (b) wanting, having an orientation toward or about, (c) a social object (i.e. a goal) (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966:265-276).

2. Expectations, as distinguished from aspirations, are the person's or group of persons' estimation of probable attainment in reference to a particular goal area (e.g. specific positions in their occupations).

The development of these goal orientations and status projections as has been pointed out in past research in this area, is a long term process, probably starting from early childhood, through adolescence and young adulthood.

Through the various educational and learning processes of socialization, cultural assimilation, etc., youths internalize the cultural goals, values, norms and belief systems, etc. that lead them to develop these status goal projections.

Cultural Factors - The "Success Theme"

One of the major factors that has influenced the development of status goal projections of rural youth is the dominant cultural "success theme" that is prevalent in the U.S. society. This has been well depicted and described by Merton (1957), Mead (1943), Taves and Coller (1964) and others. The U.S. society places strong emphasis on "success", achievement as well as high status attainment in life. Closely associated with these cultural goals and values, is the belief that youth should also achieve economic and social independence from parental and family support. At the time of high school graduation, when the individuals are clearly outgrowing their dependence upon parents and family, this dominant cultural "success" theme for high status attainment and personal independence may exert a significant "push" element in the decision to migrate and affect their subsequent migration performance.

Structural and Personality Factors

Many other status ascription and achievement variables inherent in the social structure and personality factors of youth, will also determine the types of status goal projections, the "intensity" with which they hold such goals, and consequently the relative degree with which each of them will strive for and attain their goal status projections. These structural factors and personal characteristics (as discussed in the review of literature related to the selectivity of migration) may create "differential opportunities for success" (Merton, 1957: 136-137) serving to either facilitate or hinder (block) the youth's ability and capacity to attain their projected goals. In particular, various socio-economic and subcultural factors, related to race and sex, explain the differences in the goal status projections and migration performances among rural youth. This includes different life styles, social participation, social mobility patterns, socialization, value orientations and internalization processes, goal aspirations and expectations, and consequently differential social and spatial mobility patterns towards goal attainment. As Suval (1972:6) has pointed out, both sex and especially race, are important (particularly in the United States) to the definition life chances and goals. These variables are relatively important in explaining the differential place of residence orientations of rural youth and their subsequent migration behavior (in terms of the incidence, range and type of community of destination).

Residential Status Projections as a Factor in Decision-Making

Among the many factors affecting the decisions of rural youth, their place of residence status projections (aspirations and expectations) in relation to other status goals, especially education and occupation, may have a significant influence on their decision to migrate; and in determining their subsequent migration behavior or performance. These will influence the types of communities of destination they will go to, the distance they will travel to reach such communities, and the means by which they will achieve their desired goals.

A person's orientation towards his place of residence and community, his awareness of the possible residential alternatives and his immediate aspirations and expectations (regarding where he wants to live and where he really expects to live respectively) has important implications for his attainment of various chosen life goals and achieving "success". This is an important factor in the decisions confronting rural youth regarding migration, distance and type of destination. Both dimensions of Residential Status Projections (Residential Aspirations and Expectations) are considered as independent variables in this study of the migration performance of rural youth.

The Strength (or Degree) of Residential Goal Deflection As a Factor in Decision-Making of Youth

It is evident that the majority of the rural youth will have to leave their home communities and migrate to other residential settings in search of opportunities and success. Many will go to the urban centers and others will arrive at destinations which may or may not be the kind of places where these youths want to live. For many of them, a discrepancy is evident between their residential aspirations and residential expectations.

"Anticipatory goal deflections" may occur for those rural youths who would prefer to remain in their home communities to establish their life residences and careers. But because of the many "intervening" socio-economic and cultural factors they may have to (or at least expect to) move to the cities or other communities. Others may aspire for urban residental statuses but because of various intervening factors perceived as negative forces in migration, might have to (or expect to) live in a small town or village or remain in the rural home town.

It may be inferred that the degree or strength of "anticipatory goal deflection" they perceive will have a significant influence on their decision to migrate and if so, their differential migration performance.

Assuming that most rural youths have internalized the cultural "success" theme and are motivated towards achievement and status goal attainment, they will have to specify their status goals in the different goal areas (income, education, etc.) in order to direct their efforts towards these ends. Their declining rural home communities affected by various changes in the agricultural industry, automation, industrialization, etc., do not provide the optimum environment in which they may attain their specific goals. This presents varying degrees of perceived "blockages" or intervening obstacles towards success, and felt relative deprivation among the rural youths. Based on the reality of their defined situations, many will undergo anticipatory goal deflection based on their goal aspirations and expectations.

Having specified their immediate status goals in the different but interrelated goal areas of occupation, education, residence, etc., many will have to decide to migrate out of their home communities in order to achieve their specified goals and success in life. These projected goals and various other factors (personal, structural, etc.) will determine where and how far they will migrate from their home communities. They influence the "differential" opportunities afforded the various youths towards goal attainment and their subsequent differential migration performance patterns. Migration, thus, provides a socially accepted behavioral adaptation, for rural youths to overcome these perceived "blockages" and intervening obstacles in order to strive for "success" and to attain their chosen life goals.

III. OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

The major variables to be analyzed in this study are operationally defined in the following sections:

1. Race Black or White
2. Sex Male or Female
3. Place of Residence Status Projections

For this study residential status projections are operationally defined as follows:

A. Residential Aspirations - Preference indicated as desired place of residence for life by each youth from the following community types.

Urban

(1) Very large city
(2) Medium city
(3) Small city

Rural

(4) Town or village
(5) Rural non-farm
(6) Rural farm

B. Residential Expectations - Preference of expected place of residence for life as indicated by each youth from the following community types.

Urban

(1) Very large city
(2) Medium city
(3) Small city

Rural

(4) Town or village
(5) Rural non-farm
(6) Rural farm

4. The Strength of Goal Deflection - This refers to the degree of disparity between the residential aspirations and residential expectations of the respondents. It is measured as strong or weak depending on the goal deflection rank score, which is obtained by taking the differences of the ranked ordered scores assigned to both residential aspirations and expectations. These rank scores are assigned to the Aspiration and Expectations categories based on their degree of "urbanness" and population sizes along the rural to urban continuum as follows:

Residential categories	Rank Score
Large city	1
Medium city	2
Small city	3
Town or village	4
Rural non-farm	5
Rural farm	6

A respondent indicating a desire to live in a rural farm residence (rank score = 6), but in reality can only expect to live in a large city (rank score = 1) will experience a maximum goal deflection score of 5 (6 minus 1). These goal deflection scores reflect the strength or degree of residential goal deflections defined as strong, (if these scores are four or more) or weak; (if the scores are between three and one) and none (if no goal deflection occurs).

5. Migration Performance

A. Incidence of Migration - The ratio of migrants to the total population.

(1) Migrant defined - Any respondent who has either voluntarily or involuntarily undergone a permanent or semi-permanent change in residence across community boundaries. This is indicated by their residential location in 1972, if the youth lives in a community different from that which he or she had indicated in their 1968 mailing address, during the high school senior year.

B. Range of Migration - The distances covered by different sorts of migrants as measured from his community of origin (as indicated in 1968 mailing address) to his 1972 place of residence. Range or distances traveled is measured in terms of having moved across boundaries such as:

(1) Between communities in same parish
(2) Between parishes (contiguous)
(3) Between parishes (non-contiguous)
(4) Between states (contiguous)
(5) Between states (non-contiguous)

1. Place of Residence (1968) - indicated by the youth's mailing address given at the time of the initial phase of this study during his high school senior year.

2. Place of Residence (1972) - this information was obtained through actual personal contact with the respondents at their residences or confirmed through various sources such as the mailing addresses given by friends, relatives, employers, school principals, phone contacts and also directory research.

C. Destination of Migrants - The community in which the migrant youths are residentially located at the time of the follow-up phase of the study (1972). The community of destination which best described where he or she lived then (1972), was based on the following community types as selected by the youth:

Urban

(1) Very large city
(2) Small city

Rural

(3) Town or village
(4) Rural non-farm
(5) Rural farm

IV. THE SAMPLE DESIGN

Sampling Procedure

The major aim of the sampling technique used in 1968, was to obtain a representative sample of all the rural (non-metropolitan) high schools in Louisiana. According to the available information from previous researchers and their studies, which initiated and selected the sample, a "proportionate stratified, random cluster" sampling technique was employed (Curry, 1970; Picou, 1967; Hernandez and Picou, 1969).

The state was divided into four geographic regions based on the four administrative areas outlined by the State Department of Education for affecting the supervision of vocational agricultural programs (Department of Vocational Agricultural Education, 1967). Within each of these four areas, only rural or non-metropolitan parishes were used from which further random sampling based on listings of rural high schools (from Louisiana Schools Directory, 1967), gave the selected schools. In these schools the senior classes were respondents in this study. This sampling of high schools was done to meet the predetermined total sample size of 500 and the proportionate number of respondents assigned to each of these four areas, based on the total high school seniors enrollment in the state. A total sample size of 544 students was selected for this study from 20 rural high schools in Louisiana.

Data Collection

The data to be analyzed in this study were obtained from a larger departmental research project entitled "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and their Patterns of Mobility." The panel technique was employed in the collection of this data through repeated interviews or contact with the respondents four years following initial contact. The superiority of this technique as a tool for studying attitudes or behavior habits extending over a period of time, has been emphasized by Ziesel (1956:217).

The data for this research project were initially collected in the spring of 1968. Seniors from 20 selected high schools in non-metropolitan (rural) parishes throughout the state were interviewed by groups, with questionnaires/interview schedules, administered by various graduate students and staff members of the Department of Sociology at L.S.U. These respondents were then contacted in the summer of 1972 and re-interviewed for the follow-up phase of the study. Briefly, listing these steps and techniques used, were as follows:

1. Based on the available information on mailing addresses given by respondents in 1968, letters with self-addressed return post cards were sent out for them to inform us of their current mailing addresses and phone

numbers, as well as the name and address of a close friend or relative that will know where they are.

2. Another letter with self-addressed return post cards was sent to the relatives/friends (listed by respondents in 1968, as persons who would always know where they are) if the first letters failed to reach the respondents because the addresses were poor, they had moved, respondents unknown, etc.

3. Letters were also sent out to acting and past principals of these selected schools for current addresses or any leading information to help contact these students.

4. Information regarding the current addresses and where-abouts of many respondents within and without the state were confirmed through the phone directories and operators.

5. During the summer (1972) field trips were made by interviewers to various communities of the state in order to collect the necessary data for the follow-up phase of this study. Wherever possible, respondents were personally interviewed. When respondents were not located at their current addresses, the questionnaires/interview schedules were left with relatives or friends (especially neighbors) to be returned by mail.

6. Some of these interviews were done by phone because of interviewers' inability to personally contact these respondents.

7. Letters with questionnaires were sent to those respondents that could not be contacted either directly or indirectly through friends, neighbors, etc., asking them to fill in the necessary information and return by mail. Similar letters were also sent to their friends and relatives who were in contact with the respondents. Also similar follow-up letters were again sent to respondents who were either contacted personally or through friends/relatives, etc. on the field trips who had failed to return the questionnaire/interview forms by mail.

8. Repeated attempts were made to find the current mailing addresses or residential locations of these respondents through various means including college registration files, their former neighbors, etc. Follow-up letters were also repeatedly sent to respondents, their friends and relatives or employers in order to contact them so as to obtain a high response rate.

The Instrument

A questionnaire/interview schedule was employed in the collection of data for the study. It was specifically designed to measure the occupational, educational, marital and residential projections of the rural youth sample. In both the initial phase and the follow-up phase of the study, the instrument had the same questions and scales. Some additional information was obtained in the follow-up phase to provide more comprehensive information regarding the major variables pertaining to status aspirations. The migration data were obtained through successful attempts to locate respondents at the time of the follow-up phase of the study. For the purposes of this study, selected items from those questionnaires/interview schedules were used in the analysis (See Appendix B).

The Coding Procedure

Following the collection of the data, information pertaining to the selected variables to be analyzed were coded according to their operational definitions, transferred to IBM code sheets and punched on data processing cards for statistical tabulation. The computer center at Louisiana State University was utilized in the statistical analysis of the data.

V. THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

From the conceptual framework developed and the research findings revealed in past studies, the following specific objectives and hypotheses have been derived for empirical evaluation and testing in this thesis.

Residential Projections

Specific Objectives

I. To determine the residential aspirations and expectations of selected rural youth in Louisiana in terms of:

(a) Race and sex differences

(b) The strength of residential goal deflection

Hypothesis I

There are significant race/sex differences in the residential aspirations of rural youth.

SubHypothesis

(i) More Blacks than whites would aspire for urban residential status.

(ii) More females than males would aspire for urban residential status.

Hypothesis II

There are significant race/sex differences in the residential expectations of rural youth.

SubHypothesis

(i) More Blacks than whites would expect urban residential status.

(ii) More females than males would expect urban residential status.

Hypothesis III

There are significant race/sex differences in the strength of goal deflection among rural youth.

Migration Performances

Specific Objectives

I. To determine the race/sex differences in the migration performances (incidence, range and community of destination type) of selected rural youth in Louisiana.

Hypothesis IV

A. Incidence of Migration

(i) The incidence of migration would be higher for females than males.

(ii) The incidence of migration would be higher for blacks than whites.

B. Range of Migration

(i) There is a significant difference in the range of migration between black and white youths.

(ii) There is a significant difference in the range of migration between males and females.

C. Type of Community of Destination

(i) More black than white migrants would have migrated to urban destinations.

(ii) More females than males would have migrated to urban destinations.

Residential Projections and Migration Performances

Specific Objectives

I. To determine the relationships between the independent variables (residential aspirations, expectations and strength of goal deflection) and the dependent variables in migration performance (incidence, range and type of community of destination).

Hypothesis V

There is a significant relationship between residential projections and the incidence of migration (by race and sex).

(i) The incidence of migration will be higher for those with urban status residential aspirations.

(ii) The incidence of migration will be higher for those with urban residential status expectations.

(iii) The incidence of migration will be significantly related to the strength of goal deflection of rural youth.

(iv) The range of migration will be significantly related to the strength of residential goal deflection of rural youth.

(v) There is a significant relationship between residential aspirations and the type of community of destination.

(vi) There is a significant relationship between residential expectations and type of community of destination.

V. CONCLUSION

The conceptual framework and sample design for this study provided the necessary data pertaining to the major variables to be examined in this thesis. The specific hypothesis that has been derived will be empirically evaluated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the analysis of data will be presented as follows:

A. A descriptive analysis of the selected social, personal and family background characteristics of the rural youth sample. This information may be most useful in helping interpret the specific findings of this study within the context of a social, cultural framework of reference.

B. An empirical evaluation of the various research hypotheses that has been put forth in the previous chapter (IV). These findings will be presented in the following manner: First, specific findings related to the Residential Projections (aspirations and expectations) will be described. This will be followed by findings related to the goal deflection variable. Findings related to Migration Performances including incidence, range and types of community of destination, will follow next. Finally, the various hypothesized relationships among the various independent and dependent variables will be presented. Specific emphasis on race and sex differences will be given in the report on these findings.

Statistical Techniques

In describing the background characteristics of the sample, population frequency and percentage distributions will be employed. For testing the various specific hypothesis, various other statistical tests will be employed. In selecting the most sensitive and appropriate statistical tests for analyzing the data, the level of measurement obtained, the sample size and the relative power of different tests available for such data were taken into consideration (Siegel 1956:157).

The "goodness of fit" and significance of differences of the Chi-square statistical technique (Siegel, 1956; Blalock, 1960; Cochran and Cox, 1957) was used when the data measurement was weak at the nominal level, or in the form of discrete ordinal categories (e.g., urban and rural aspirations).

Where stronger levels of measurement of the data was obtained, the "Kruskal Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance by Ranks" (Siegel, 1956:184-193) and the "T-Test for Mean Differences" (Li, 1964:461-475) techniques were employed.

For Chi-squares significant at the 0.05 level or better, the Pearson's Contigency (C) was calculated (Siegel, 1956:195-202; Blalock, 1960:230). This measures the degree or extent of statistically significant relationships or associations between the variables concerned. The necessary correction adjustment appropriate for the different contingency tables sizes was applied to determine the value of (C) (Blalock, 1960:230).

II. SOME BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The sample of 544 rural youths interviewed in 1968 consisted of 88 black males, 126 black females, 171 white males and 159 white females. Table II gives the breakdown of the respondents according to the different geographic areas and schools by race and sex, as well as the different percentage responses obtained from them in 1972. Only 396 out of the 544 respondents (72.79 percent) were contacted and interviewed, but the whereabouts of another 91 (or 16.73 percent) were known, most of whom were contacted, but failed to respond to the follow-up study. The interviewers failed to locate 50 of these young adults. Seven were known to be deceased, five males and two females. The overall response

Table II

DELINEATION OF SAMPLE SIZE BY GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION, SCHOOL, RACE AND SEX IN 1968 AND PERCENTAGE RESPONSE IN 1972

Geographic Location area and Parish	School ID #	1968 Sample Size by Race and Sex in Numbers					Percentage Response in 1972			
		Black		White		Total	Located		Not* Located	Total
		Males	Females	Males	Females		Interviewed	Not Interviewed		
I-Northwest										
Sabine	1	6	7			13	53.85	15.38	30.77	100
"	2			14	7	21	66.67	14.28	19.05	100
Grant	3			11	7	18	61.11	27.78	11.11	100
"	6			5	9	14	42.86	42.86	14.28	100
DeSoto	4	35	32			67	74.63	11.94	13.43	100
"	5			6	6	12	1 00	-	-	100
Total	6	41	39	36	29	145				
II-Northeast										
West Carroll	1			13	10	23	78.26	14.04	4.7	100
Texsas	2			20	12	32	84.37	9.38	6.25	100
Richland	3			35	30	65	75.38	21.54	3.08	100
Franklin	4	10	17			27	40.74	44.44	14.82	100
Total	4	10	17	68	52	147				

(To be continued)

(Table II continued)

Geographic Location Area and Parish	School ID #	1968 Sample Size by Race and Sex in Numbers					Percentage Response in 1972			
		Black		Whites		Total	Located		Not* Located	Total
		Males	Females	Males	Females		Interviewed	Not Interviewed		
III Southwest										
Avoyelles	1			5	12	17	82.35	11.77	5.88	100
"	2	23	34			57	59.65	26.32	14.03	100
"	3			17	18	35	94.29	2.86	2.85	100
Evangeline	4	2	14			16	56.25	16.25	37.5	100
Total	4	25	48	22	30	125				
IV Southeast										
Livingston	1	6	12			18	66.67	-	33.33	100
"	2			12	5	17	58.82	29.41	11.77	100
Pointe Coupee	3			10	17	27	96.29	3.71	-	100
"	4			14	16	30	93.33	-	6.67	100
St. James	5			9	10	19	84.21	15.79	-	100
Plaquemine	6	6	10			16	56.25	37.5	6.25	100
Total	6	12	22	45	48	127				
Total		88	126	171	159	544				

* Of those not located in 1972: (a) 7 were deceased (5 males, 2 females)
(b) 5 were without information for follow-up study.

of the study sample for black and white youths were 84.57 percent and 92.73 percent respectively. This makes the total sample size of 487 respondents for this study of whom 69 were black males, 112 black females, 159 white males and 149 white females.

The median age of these youth in 1968 was 17.4 years and 17.6 years for blacks and whites respectively (Hernandez and Picou, 1969:7). In 1972 their mean ages would be between 20 to 21 years, falling within the age group with the highest geographic mobility rates within the nation (as already noted). Therefore, they can be expected to exhibit a relatively high rate of migration and spatial mobility.

The vast majority of rural youths involved in this study came from families of low socio-economic status (Hernandez and Picou, 1969:7). The majority of them (95 percent or more) grew up in rural areas (under 2,500 inhabitants) with no significant differences between the various race and sex groups in the type of community of orientation that they had grown up in (See Table III). About 266 or (56 percent) were known to be neither the eldest nor the youngest child in the family while over 200 (44 percent were either the youngest or the oldest living child). This latter observation may have implication for their subsequent migration performances, as generally it may be inferred that

TABLE III

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS AND CHI SQUARE TESTS FOR SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL YOUTH BY RACE AND SEX

Characteristics	Black				White				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Community of Orientation										
City (over 2,500)	8	11.6	12	10.81	18	11.32	18	12.24	56	11.52
Town/Village	9	13.04	25	22.52	22	13.84	29	19.73	85	17.5
Rural Nonfarm	29	42.03	46	41.44	53	33.33	49	33.33	177	36.42
Rural Farm	23	33.33	28	25.23	66	41.51	51	34.7	168	34.56
Total	69	100.00	111	100.00	159	100.00	147	100.00	486	100.00
No Information	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Family Characteristic										
Youngest living child	9	13.64	13	12.04	42	26.59	35	23.97	99	20.71
Oldest Living child	17	25.75	24	22.22	36	22.78	36	24.66	113	23.64
Neither youngest or oldest	40	60.61	71	65.74	80	50.63	75	51.82	266	55.65
Total	66	100.00	108	100.00	158	100.00	146	100.00	478	100.00
No Information	3		4		1		1		9	

Community of Orientation: $X^2 = 11.4$ D.F. = 9 $P \geq 0.3$

Family Characteristic: $X^2 = 15.1789$ D.F. 6 $P \geq 0.02$

(Continued)

(Table III Continued)

Characteristics	Black Male No.	Black Male %	Black Female No.	Black Female %	White Male No.	White Male %	White Female No.	White Female %	Total No.	Total %
Strength of Residential Aspiration										
Strong	18	28.57	30	27.52	50	31.45	46	31.5	144	30.2
Intermediate	22	34.92	39	35.78	33	20.75	37	25.34	131	27.46
Weak	23	36.51	40	36.7	76	47.8	63	43.15	202	42.34
Total	63	100.00	109	100.00	159	100.00	146	100.00	477	100.00
No Information	6		3		-		1		10	
$X^2 = 9.811$		D.F. = 6			$P \geq 0.2$					
Certainty of Residential Expectations										
Certain	45	67.16	78	72.9	80	51.0	61	42.07	264	55.46
Not Certain	22	32.84	29	27.1	77	49.0	84	57.93	212	44.54
Total	67	100.00	107	100.00	157	100.00	145	100.00	476	100.00
No Information	2		5		2		2		11	
$X^2 = 28.7023$		D.F. = 3			$P \geq 0.001$					
Attitude Towards Migration As An Obstacle to Occupational Attainment										
Much	9	14.52	10	9.71	9	5.7	2	1.42	30	6.46
Some	9	14.51	11	10.68	20	12.66	39	27.66	79	17.03
Not at all	44	70.97	82	79.61	129	81.64	100	70.92	355	76.51
Total	62	100.00	103	100.00	158	100.00	141	100.00	464	100.00
No Information	7		9		1		6		23	
$X^2 = 28.8897$			D.F. = 6			$P \geq 0.001$				

the oldest or the youngest child may be relatively more attached to their families than others. However, the various limitations of this study do not allow for an investigation to determine if such a relationship exists. Significant race and sex differences were observed among the respondents on this characteristic.

The place of residence aspirations and expectations of youths will be statistically tested and presented in following sections of this thesis. However, it can be seen in Table III that no observable differences in the strength of residential aspirations held by the respondents were obtained. In this respect, no significant difference was found between the different race and sex groups. To obtain a measure of the strength or intensity of place of residence aspirations, a forced choice question was administered to the students. This question forced them to indicate the importance of their residence goals compared to six other valued status goals. (See Appendix B).

Over 55.46 percent of the sample indicated that they were either very certain or certain about living in the type of place they expect to. Significant race and sex differences were observed. The black youth (both male and female) exhibited proportionately higher percentages in being certain about their residential expectations (Table III). These differences may have some influence on their residential goals and subsequent migration patterns.

It is also interesting to note that the greater majority (over 76 per cent) of these youths did not view having to migrate as an obstacle towards getting the job they wanted or could get. However, significant race and sex differences was observed (Table III). Over 80 per cent of the black females and white males in the sample held such a view as compared to only about 70 per cent of the other groups. This implies that most of the youth from rural areas do not mind migrating if they can get jobs in other communities. It may also suggest that a majority of them expect to migrate because it has become an expected and normative behavioral pattern for rural youth.

III. AN EMPIRICAL EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Residential Projections

A two dimensional specification of residence goals (through a forced choice question) was used to measure the place of residence aspirations and expectations of the respondents. Data were tabulated by size of place and location in proximity to a city (See Appendix B). However, for the purposes of this study, the data pertaining to these variables were measured in nominal categories as rural or urban residential projections. The latter was in keeping with the specific objectives of the study, in that it permitted viewing these rural-urban residential goals as influencing the rural to urban migration performances of rural youth.

The Chi-square statistical test for significant differences was employed to test for the differences among the race/sex groupings with regard to residential aspirations and expectations. The criteria for rejecting the null hypothesis was set at the 0.05 level of significance.

Residential Aspirations

The analysis of this variable was guided by the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis I

There are significant race/sex differences in the residential aspirations of rural youth.

SubHypothesis

(i) More Blacks than whites would aspire for urban residential status.

(ii) More females than males would aspire for urban residential status.

The percentage distribution of the different numbers in the various race/sex groupings indicating rural and urban place of residences are shown in Table IV. The calculated Chi-square values and significance levels for race and sex classes, and the interaction between these variables as well as contingency (C) are listed below the table.

Findings

Statistically, significant differences were found in the residential aspirations expressed by the four different race/sex groups. Most black males preferred large cities (nearly 30 per cent) or rural non-farm areas (over 31 per cent) and wanted least to live in a small city (33 per cent) or town/village (9.8 per cent). No disproportionate preference for either rural or urban residence was indicated by this group.

The black females, however, clearly indicate a preference to live in urban areas (over 74 per cent). About 64 per cent of them desired to live in either large or medium sized cities. Only one out of the total 101 respondents in this race/sex group indicated a desire to live on a farm.

Compared to the black females, the white males clearly indicate an opposite trend in terms of residential status preferences. Over 70 per cent of them aspired

TABLE IV

RESIDENTIAL ASPIRATIONS OF LOUISIANA RURAL YOUTH IN 1968 BY RACE AND SEX IN PERCENTS*

Place of Residence Type	Black		White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban				
Large City	29.5	33.7	4.2	8.5
Medium City	14.8	29.7	15.6	25.3
Small City	3.3	10.9	10	12
Sub Total	47.6	74.3	29.8	45.8
Rural				
Town/Village	9.8	13.9	10.6	14.8
Rural Nonfarm	31.1	10.9	34.1	30.3
Rural Farm	11.5	0.9	25.5	9.1
Sub Total	52.40	25.9	70.2	54.2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	61	101	141	142
No Information	8	11	18	5

* This table is graphically illustrated in Figure 1, Appendix A.

Source of Variation	Chi Square	DF	P at .01	C
X^2 Total	40.8575	3	S	0.3117
X^2 Race	27.7245	1	S	0.3423
X^2 Sex	23.2365	1	S	0.3150
X^2 RXS	0.2755	1	NS	

to live in rural areas, with most of them preferring either rural non-farm (34 per cent) or rural farm (25.5 per cent) residence. This group is unique in terms of the relatively high proportions expressing rural farm residential aspirations compared to the other groups. Only 4.2 per cent of the white males want to live in large cities.

From Table IV it can also be seen that the white females tend to avoid extremes and most desire to live in a medium size city (25 per cent) or in rural non-farm areas (30 per cent). They did not have any special preference for either rural or urban residential places.

It was found that the sub-hypotheses were statistically significant (at the 0.01 level). Proportionately more blacks (61.5 per cent) than whites (38.3 per cent) and females (60.5 per cent) than males (38.7 per cent) indicated preferences for urban residential statuses. Specifically, black females (33.7 per cent) showed the strongest preference for urban residence while white males uniquely preferred rural farm residences relatively.

It may be concluded that significant relationships exist between types of residential aspirations and race as well as for sex or race controlled for sex. The contingency (C) value shows that this relationship is strongest when residential aspirations are associated with race and sex than when differentiated by race and sex variables one at a time. The combined or interaction effects between race and sex did not produce significant differences in the residential aspirations of the respondents.

Residential Expectations

The analysis of this variable was guided by the following hypotheses with emphasis on race/sex differences, as presented in Chapter IV.

Hypothesis II

There are significant race/sex differences in the residential expectations of rural youth.

SubHypothesis

(i) More blacks than whites would expect urban residential status.

(ii) More females than males would expect urban residential status.

Findings

Generally, the residential expectations of respondents were similar to their residential aspirations. The same distinct types of residential status projection trends were shown by the same race/sex categories in both aspirations and expectations. The majority of the respondents expected urban types of residence with the black females showing distinctly that they expected to live in the cities (74 per cent) and the white males showing the least expectation to be in urban residential settings (See Table V).

As hypothesized, significant differences were found among the different race/sex categories in terms of the type of residential areas in which they really expect to be living in. Looking at each of these race/sex groupings individually from the data summarized in Table V, the following was observed.

Over 17 per cent more black males expressed their expectation to live in urban areas than in rural areas. Over 53 per cent of this group expected to be either in large or medium size cities. About one-fifth in this race/sex category expected to live in rural non-farm areas but only about 10 per cent expected to live on farms or in towns/villages. Percentage wise, they least expected to live in small cities.

For the black females, the greater majority (74 per cent) expected to live in cities. Similar to their expressed aspirations, their expectations are highest for urban areas and clearly show a decreasing rate of expectation for increasing "rural" residential settings, such

TABLE V

RESIDENTIAL EXPECTATIONS OF LOUISIANA RURAL YOUTH IN 1968 BY RACE AND SEX IN PERCENTS*

Place of Residence Type	Black		White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban				
Large City	30	30.5	8.4	7.6
Medium City	23.3	26.8	18.2	29.9
Small City	5	16.7	13	16
Sub Total	58.3	74	39.6	53.5
Rural				
Town/Village	10	14.8	14.3	20.1
Rural Nonfarm	21.7	10.2	27.3	20.8
Rural Farm	10	1	18.8	5.6
Sub Total	41.7	26	60.4	46.5
Total	100	100	100	100
N	60	108	154	144
No Information	9	4	5	3

* This table is graphically illustrated in Figure 2, Appendix A.

Source of Variation	Chi Square	DF	P at .01	C
X^2 Total	30.84126	3	S	0.2876
X^2 Race	20.3449	1	S	0.2891
X^2 Sex	14.2588	1	S	0.2437
X^2 RXS	0.0186	1	NS	

that only one per cent expected to live on farms. Comparatively, this race/sex category showed the highest percentage of respondents expecting urban residential status (15 per cent more than black males, 35 per cent more than white males and 21 per cent more than white females).

The majority of white males, however, prefer (as noted in their aspirations) and actually expect rural residential status, particularly in rural non-farm areas. Again, as in their aspirations, they are unique among the other three race/sex groups in having such a high percentage of respondents expecting rural residential statuses. However, slightly less than 40 per cent of them do expect to be in the cities (mostly in medium and small size cities). This group included showed the highest percentage of residential expectations for rural farm areas (8 per cent more than black males, 18 per cent more than black females, and 13 per cent more than white females). White males also least expected to live in large cities.

Only slightly more than one-half (53.3 per cent) of the white females expected to live in urban areas. They particularly expected to be in medium size cities. Over 40 per cent of these white female respondents expected to be living in either rural non-farm or town/village settings. They expected to live on farms, or in large cities.

In testing the sub-hypothesis presented above, it was found that significantly more black than white youths, expected to live in urban areas. This was also found to be true for females as compared to males. It is interesting to note that especially for those expecting to live in large cities, black males and females in almost equal proportions (30 per cent in both groups) indicate significantly higher rates of expectations than white males and females (each about 8 per cent).

Females showed clearly that they least expected to live on farms and mostly (over 56 per cent) expected to live in medium size cities. Place of residence expectations for males vary with race but generally, they least expect to live in small cities and most of them expect to be living in rural non-farm areas or medium size cities.

The interaction or combined effects of the variables race and sex, did not produce any significant differences in the residential expectations of youth. The relationship between residential expectations and race, controlled for sex, was the strongest compared to those between the former variable and race, and sex taken individually, as indicated by the contingency value of (C).

IV. THE STRENGTH (OR DEGREE) OF RESIDENTIAL GOAL DEFLECTION OF YOUTHS

The operational definition for the strength of goal deflection based on the assigned goal deflection score values has been presented in Chapter IV. This variable, defined in terms of strong, weak or none was measured at the ordinal level of measurement. Because of this, the statistical test used to test for the race/sex differences of this dependent variable was the "Kruskal-Wallis One Way Analysis of Variance Test" (Siegel, 1956:184-193; Carter, Schilling and Tracy: unpublished). Ranks were assigned to the strength of goal deflection as follows:

Strength of Goal Deflection	Rank
Strong	1
Weak	2
None	3

A factorial design for two independent variables, race and sex, was utilized to classify all respondents. These two independent variables were classified as follows: Sex, male and female; race, black and white. The above procedure allowed for an ordinal measurement of the dependent variable "strength of goal deflection" between the four categorized groups--black males, white males, black females, white females.

TABLE VI

THE STRENGTH OF GOAL DEFLECTION OF YOUTHS BY RACE AND SEX IN PERCENTS*

Strength of Goal Deflection	Black		White		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Strong	5.66	2.0	2.9	4.35	3.5
Weak	15.1	31.68	27.54	35.5	29.53
None	79.24	66.32	69.56	60.15	66.97
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	53	101	138	138	430
No Information	16	11	21	9	57

Analysis of Main and Interaction Effects in Table VI

Source of Variation	Statistic	DF	P at 0.5
By race	H=1.498	1	NS
By sex	H=3.8642	1	S
Interaction: race by sex	H=0.54	1	NS

*This is graphically illustrated in Figure III, Appendix A.

Findings: Testing the hypothesis that "There are significant race/sex differences in the strength of goal deflection among rural youth," for the main effects of race and sex and interaction, using this statistical technique, it was found that at the .05 level of significance, only the relationship between sex and strength of goal deflection was significant. Table VI shows that about 74 per cent of the male youth did not experience residential goal deflection as compared to about 63 per cent of the females. Although the majority of the respondents did not experience strong or weak goal deflections, of the 35 per cent who did, females seem to have more goal deflection (weak) than males in general.

V. MIGRATION PERFORMANCE

Migration performances of the respondents are conceptualized as involving, (1) incidences of migration, (2) the distance traveled or range between the community of origin and destination and (3) the type of community of destination they arrived at. The analysis of the various components of this variable was guided by the general working hypothesis that:

General Hypothesis

There are significant race/sex differences in the migration performance of rural youth as measured by (1) the incidence of migration, (2) the range of migration and, (3) the type of community of destination.

"Migrants" were operationally defined in the previous chapter (IV). They include all those youth who have either temporarily or semi-permanently moved from their communities of origin in 1968 and residentially located in different communities in 1972. Of the total 487 youths that were located in 1972, it was found that over 60 per cent or 301 of them fell within the category of migrants. This leaves about 38 per cent or 186 of them as non-migrants. However, it should be pointed out here that even within the non-migrant categories over 85 of them had moved locally or changed residence within the same community. Therefore, only 101 out of the 478 respondents were actually living at the same addresses four years after graduation from high school.

Included as migrants were also ten respondents who were members of the Armed Forces; and resident college students who were known to be residentially located away from their communities for some time during the follow-up study. However, the ten "migrants" who were known to be serving in the Armed Forces (including six black males, three white males and one white female) were dropped from the sample in the analysis of the range of migration.

This was because the only information obtained as to their whereabouts was the military bases addresses.

Findings

I. The incidence of migration: The T test for difference of proportions (Li, 1964) was employed in testing for the main effects of race and sex and the interaction effects of these variables on migration incidence.

In Table VII, the percentage distributions of the different race/sex groupings in terms of their incidence of migration and non-migration are given. It can be seen that the highest rates of incidence of migration were demonstrated by black males with (76.81 per cent) followed closely by white females (64.63 per cent), black females (61.61 per cent) respectively. The white males experienced the lowest incidence of migration and consequently had the highest percentage of non-migration incidence.

In testing the hypothesis stated below (as presented in the last chapter) it was found that there were significant differences in the incidence of migration among the different race/sex groupings using the Chi square test at the 0.05 level of probability.

TABLE VII

INCIDENCE OF MIGRATION AND NON-MIGRATION OF RURAL YOUTH BY RACE AND SEX IN PERCENTS

Incidence	Black		White		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Migration	76.81	61.61	52.83	64.63	61.81
Non-Migration	23.19	38.39	47.17	35.37	38.19
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	69	112	159	147	478

TABLE VIII

INCIDENCE OF MIGRATION OF LOUISIANA RURAL YOUTH BY RACE AND SEX*

	Black		White		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Number of Migrants	53	69	84	95	301
Number of Non-Migrants	16	43	75	52	186
Total (N)	69	112	159	147	487
Migration Incidence in Percents	76.81	61.61	52.83	64.63	61.81

* This table is graphically illustrated in Figure 4, Appendix A.

$X^2 = 12.4879$ D.F. = 3 $P \geq 0.01$

Analysis of Main and Interaction Effects in Table VIII

Source of Variation	Statistic	(D.F. = α)	Significant Level	P at 0.05
By Race	t = 1.9432		$P \geq 0.01$	S
By Sex	t = 0.7226		$P \geq 0.25$	NS
Interaction Race by Sex	t = 2.7213		$P \geq 0.01$	S

Hypothesis III

(i) The incidence of migration would be higher for the blacks than whites.

(ii) The incidence of migration would be higher for the females than males.

The T-test for difference of proportions was used to test the subhypothesis. The hypothesis that black youths would experience a higher migration incidence than white youths was statistically significant. However, the hypothesized relationship between migration incidence and sex was not statistically significant. The interaction of combined effects between the race and sex variables produced significant differences in migration incidences with the combined categories of black males and white females (68.5 per cent) having significantly higher percentages of migration than white males and black females (56.5 percent). This suggests (Table VII) that across race, the sex categories show significant differences in migration incidences.

II. The range of migration: Distance is a limiting factor in migration, affecting the selectivity of the migration process and differentiating migrants based on various social, economic, personal and family factors.

Since it has been established in past studies that both the variables, race and sex, significantly affect the distance of migration, the following hypotheses regarding the range of migration of the rural youth sample were tested for these differences.

(a) There is a significant difference in the range of migration between black and white youths.

(b) There is a significant difference in the range of migration between males and females.

The Kruskal-Wallis One Way Analysis of Variance was employed to test these hypotheses because the range of migration--conceived as the distance (marked by political boundary lines) crossed in the process of moving away from the community of origin--was obtained at the ordinal level of measurement. The ordering of the range of migration was ranked as follows:

Range of Migration	Rank
Between Communities in same Parish	1
Between Parishes (Contiguous)	2
Between Parishes (Non-contiguous)	3
Between States (Contiguous)	4
Between States (Non-contiguous)	5

The independent variables of race and sex were dichotomized to produce four categories of race/sex groups. Significant differences for race and sex as main effects and for interaction effects between these two independent variables were analyzed.

The percentage distribution of the range of migration performance exhibited by the rural youth migrants from each of the sample parishes within the geographic areas of the state are given in Tables I and II (Appendix A). Most of them (over 57 per cent) migrated across parishes, especially between non-contiguous parishes. Approximately 30 per cent of these rural youth migrants had moved out of the state, half of whom moved to the neighboring (contiguous) states, while the other half had migrated across to non-contiguous states. About 12 per cent of the youth migrants remained within the same parish.

Assuming that for the majority of these rural youth migrants, their destinations were the urban centers and cities; and the fact that distance generally vary inversely with the "cost" of migration, these youths would tend to migrate to the urban centers within the shortest range of their communities of origin. This is generally reflected by the data presented in Table II (Appendix A). Those sample parishes contiguous to the metropolitan parishes exhibited generally higher percentages of rural youths migrating between contiguous parishes, while the other sample parishes further away had higher proportions of youths migrating between non-contiguous parishes.

TABLE IX

RANGE OF MIGRATION BY RACE AND SEX

Range of Migration	Black		White		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Between Communities (Same Parish)	6.38	2.95	15.66	20.21	12.27
Between Parishes					
(Contiguous)	21.28	23.53	14.46	11.7	16.78
(Non-contiguous)	25.53	17.65	53.01	55.32	41.10
Between States					
(Contiguous)	25.53	29.41	6.02	7.45	15.07
(Non-contiguous)	21.28	26.47	10.85	5.32	14.38
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	47	68	83	94	292
Military	6	0	3	1	10
Non-migrants	16	44	73	52	185

Analysis of Main and Interaction Effects in Table IX

Source of Variation	Statistics	DF	P. at 0.05
By race	H = 23.7305	1	S
By sex	H = 0.0351	1	NS
Interaction: race by sex	H = 2.7556	1	NS

Rural youths generally tended to migrate to the urban centers located within their geographic areas in the state. Figure VII (Appendix A) shows that between 1960 and 1970, the major metropolitan parishes in each of these geographical areas of the study gained in population (e.g. Shreveport in Area I, Monroe in Area II, Lafayette in Area III, and East Baton Rouge in Area IV), while most of the sample parishes in these corresponding geographic areas experienced population losses.

Overall, the general finding of an inverse relationship between distance and number of migrants as put forth in the review of past studies may be observed. As the range between communities of non-contiguous parishes increased. Smaller percentages of migrants were observed in each category of range of migration.

Significant differences were found between races but not between the sexes in terms of the range of migration. Black males and females show (in Table IX) a greater proportion moving across state boundaries than their white counterparts, (over 51 per cent as compared to only about 14 per cent, respectively).

The majority (over 54 per cent) of the white youths had migrated between the parishes especially between non-contiguous parishes. At least ten per cent of the white youth migrants remained within the same parish as compared to less than five per cent of those of the black youth migrants. The latter showed the least tendency to move between communities in the same parish while the former showed the least tendency to migrate to neighboring (contiguous) states. The data in Table IX indicates that proportionately more black youths migrated over longer ranges (or distances) than white youths, particularly across state boundaries. However, within the state, more whites moved over longer ranges or distances than the black youth migrants. Approximately 85 per cent of the white youths remained in the state, in contrast to that of over 51 per cent of the black youths who moved out of the state.

No significant interaction effects between race and sex was obtained.

III. Community of destination: One of the questions that had prompted this study was "Where do most rural migrant youth go to after their high school graduation?" Table X shows the types of communities of destination of migrant youths in this sample in percentage distribution by race/sex differences. The specific hypotheses tested on this variable was that:

(a) More black migrants than whites would have migrated to urban destinations.

(b) More females than males would have migrated to urban destinations.

The Chi-square test showed an overall significant difference for the types of communities of destination chosen by migrants of the various race/sex groupings. There was a significant relationship between race and type of community of destination as hypothesized at the 0.05 level of probability. Proportionately more black migrant youth (70.7 per cent) in this study went to live in urban areas than white migrant youth (55.8 per cent). Sex differences in terms of the community of destination type was not found to be significant at the 0.05 level of probability. Also, the interaction on combined effects of race and sex did not produce significant differences in the type of destination variable.

On the whole, it was observed (Table X) that the majority (60.5 per cent) of the youth classified as migrants were residentially located in urban areas, mostly in large cities. Approximately 77 per cent of the black males went to the urban areas and they represent the most "urban" group in terms of type of community of destination, followed by black females (64.4 per cent), white males (57.7 per cent) and lastly, white females (54 per cent).

TABLE X

TYPE OF COMMUNITIES OF DESTINATION OF LOUISIANA RURAL YOUTH MIGRANTS BY RACE AND SEX IN PERCENTS*

Community of Destination Type	Black		White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban				
Very Large City	57.1	53.3	33.8	26.4
Small City	20	11.1	23.9	27.6
Total	77.1	64.4	57.7	54
Rural				
Town/Village	14.3	13.3	16.9	23
Rural Nonfarm	8.6	20	16.9	18.4
Rural Farm	0	2.3	8.5	4.6
Total	22.9	35.6	42.3	46
Total	100	100	100	100
N	35	45	87	95
No Information	18	24	13	8

* This table is graphically illustrated in Figure 4, Appendix A.

Source of Variation	Chi Square	D.F.	P at .05	C
X^2 Total	6.1024	3	S	0.1826
X^2 Race	3.9682	1	S	0.181
X^2 Sex	0.8063	1	NS	-
X^2 RXS	0.007	1	NS	-

It is evident from Table X that these migrants did not move to rural farm areas. In fact, none of the black males did. Only 11 youths out of the total 238 were living on farms at the time of the study. The strength of the significant relationships between type of community of destination and race, and by race controlled for sex, is shown by the Contingency Value (C) in Table X.

VI. FACTORS RELATED TO MIGRATION PERFORMANCES

Interrelationships between residential aspirations, expectations, the strength of goal deflection and the migration incidence, range and type of community of destination will be presented in this section of the chapter. The general working hypothesis that have generated the various specific hypotheses concerning these relationships among the independent variables and dependent variables is that:

> Residential aspirations and expectations as well as the degree or strength of such residential goal deflections have a significant influence on the rural migrant youth sample in terms of their incidence of migration, the range of migration, and the type of community of destination.

TABLE XI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL ASPIRATIONS AND INCIDENCE OF MIGRATION BY RACE AND SEX

Place of Residence Aspiration		Black		White		Total
		Males	Females	Males	Females	
Urban	Number					
	Migrants	24	48	26	41	139
	Non-Migrants	5	27	16	24	72
	N	29	75	42	65	211
	Percentage Incidence of Migration	82.76	64	61.91	63.08	65.88
Rural	Number					
	Migrants	25	15	47	51	138
	Non-Migrants	7	11	52	26	96
	N	32	26	99	77	234
	Percentage Incidence of Migration	78.13	57.69	47.47	66.23	58.97
Total	Number					
	Migrants	49	63	73	92	277
	Non-Migrants	12	38	68	50	168
	N	61	101	141	142	445
	Percentage Incidence of Migration	80.32	62.38	51.77	64.79	62.25
No Information		8	11	18	5	42

Source of Variation	Chi Square	D.F.	Significance Level	Pat 0.05	C
Migration Incidence by Race/Sex	15.41598	3	$P \geq 0.01$	S	0.2046
Migration Incidence by Residential Aspiration	2.2099	1	$P \geq 0.2$	NS	
Race/Sex Grouping					
White Male	2.4647	1	$P \geq 0.2$	NS	
White Female	0.1460	1	$P \geq 0.8$	NS	
Black Male	0.2410	1	$P \geq 0.7$	NS	
Black Female	0.3158	1	$P \geq 0.7$	NS	

I. Residential aspirations and the incidence of migration:

Hypothesis

The incidence of migration will be higher for those with urban residential aspirations.

Findings

There was no significant relationship between residential aspirations and the incidence of migration of rural youth. Table XI gives the percentage distributions of the different incidences of migration of the four race/sex groupings who aspired to urban or rural residential statuses. Although slightly more migrants, who had aspired for urban residences, actually migrated than those who had rural aspirations, this difference was not statistically significant at the 0.05 level of probability (Table XI).

II. Residential expectation and incidence of migration:

Hypothesis

The incidence of migration will be higher for those with urban residential expectations.

Findings

A significant relationship was found between residential expectation and incidence of migration as hypothesized above (at 0.05 level of probability). Over 66 per

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL EXPECTATIONS AND INCIDENCE OF MIGRATION BY RACE AND SEX

Place of Residence Expectation		Black		White		Total
		Males	Females	Males	Females	
	Number					
	Migrants	26	49	39	54	168
Urban	Non-Migrants	9	31	22	23	85
	N	35	80	61	77	253
	Percentage Migration Incidence	74.29	61.25	63.93	70.13	66.4
	Number					
	Migrants	20	18	43	39	120
Rural	Non-Migrants	5	10	50	28	93
	N	25	28	93	67	213
	Percentage Migration Incidence	80	64.29	46.24	58.21	56.34
	Number					
	Migrants	46	67	82	93	288
	Non-Migrants	14	41	72	51	178
	N	60	108	154	144	466
	Percentage Migration Incidence	76.67	62.04	53.25	64.58	61.8
No Information		9	4	5	3	21

Source of Variation	Chi Square	D.F.	Significance Level	Pat 0.05	C
Migration Incidence by Race/Sex	10.909	3	$P \geq 0.02$	S	0.1692
Migration Incidence by Residential Expectations	4.9814	1	$P \geq$ ½(.05)	S	0.1260
Race/Sex Grouping					
White Male	4.6232	1	$P > 0.05$	S	0.1211
White Female	2.2414	1	$P \geq 0.2$	NS	
Black Male	0.2638	1	$P \geq 0.7$	NS	
Black Female	0.07601	1	$P \geq 0.8$	NS	

cent of those who had urban residential expectations migrated as compared to only 56 per cent of those who had rural residential expectations (Table XII). It may be recalled that white male youths had shown the least percentage expecting to live in the cities compared to other groups and were unique in having proportionately, the highest percentage aspiring and expecting rural type residential statuses. It is interesting to note that the significant relationship between residential expectations and migration incidence again only holds true for this race/sex category (when controlled for race and sex). Proportionately more of those white males who had expected urban residence (63 per cent) migrated than those who had expected rural residence (46 per cent).

III. Goal deflection and incidence of migration: Hypothesis

The incidence of migration will be significantly related to the strength of goal deflection of rural youth.

Findings

No significant relationship was found between the strength of goal deflection and the incidence of migration. It can be observed from Table XIII that the majority (over 60 per cent) of youths who had experienced (either strong or weak) goal deflections had slightly higher

TABLE XIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRENGTH OF GOAL DEFLECTION AND INCIDENCE OF MIGRATION BY RACE AND SEX IN PERCENTS

Strength of Goal Deflection		Black		White		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Strong	Number					
	Migrants	2	2	2	5	11
	Non-Migrants	1	0	2	1	4
	N	3	2	4	6	15
	Percentage Migration Incidence	66.66	100	50	83.33	73.33
Weak	Number					
	Migrants	6	23	21	32	82
	Non-Migrants	2	9	17	17	45
	N	8	32	38	49	127
	Percentage Migration Incidence	75	71.88	55.26	65.31	64.57
None	Number					
	Migrants	35	38	49	52	174
	Non-Migrants	7	29	47	31	114
	N	42	67	96	83	288
	Percentage Migration Incidence	83.33	56.72	51.04	62.25	60.42

(TABLE XIII to be continued)

(TABLE XIII Continued)

Strength of Goal Deflection		Black		Female		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
	Number					
	Migrants	43	63	72	89	267
Total	Non-Migrants	10	38	66	49	163
	N	53	101	138	138	430
	Percentage Migration Incidence	81.13	62.38	52.17	64.49	62.09
No Information		16	11	21	9	57

Source of Variation	Chi Square	D.F.	Significant Level	P at 0.05	C
Migration Incidence by Race & Sex	14.2987	3	$P \geq 0.01$	S	0.2006
Migration Incidence by Goal deflection Strength	1.54726	22	$P \geq 0.5$	NS	
Race/Sex Grouping					
White Male	0.2076	2	$P \geq 0.5$	NS	
White Female	1.0669	2	$P \geq 0.5$	NS	
Black Male	0.7393	2	$P \geq 0.7$	NS	
Black Female	3.3514	2	$P \geq 0.20$	NS	

migration incidences than those with no residential goal deflection at all. However, this was not significant at the 0.05 level of probability.

IV. Strength of goal deflection and range of migration:

Hypothesis

The range of migration will be significantly related to the incidence strength (or degree) of residential goal deflection of rural youth.

Findings

Using the "Kruskal-Wallis Analysis of Variance" test, no significant relationship was found between the strength of goal deflection and the range of migration of respondents. Table XIV gives the percentage distribution of the range of migration by strength of goal deflection of the respondents. The resultant H-value obtained from the analysis, with two degrees of freedom, failed to reject the null hypothesis of no relationship at the 0.05 level of significance.

V. Residential aspiration and community of destination type:

Hypothesis

There is a significant relationship between residential aspirations and the type of community of destination.

TABLE XIV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRENGTH OF GOAL DEFLECTION AND RANGE OF MIGRATION OF YOUTH IN PERCENTS

Range of Migration	Strength of Goal Deflection			
	Strong	Weak	None	Total
Between Communities				
Same Parish	9.09	13.75	14.2	13.85
Between Parishes				
Contiguous	9.09	11.25	20.12	16.92
Non-Contiguous	45.45	43.75	39.64	41.15
Between States				
Contiguous	9.09	20.	13.02	15
Non-Contiguous	27.29	11.25	13.02	13.08
Total	100	100	100	100
N	11	80	169	260
No Information				57
Non-migrants	4	44	114	162
Military		3	5	8

H = 2.2615 DF = 2 P $\geq$ .2 (N.S.)

Findings

Using the Chi-square Test, it was concluded that no significant relationship existed between the two variables, residential aspirations and type of community of destination, at the 0.05 level of probability. Table XV gives the percentage distribution of migrant youths who had migrated to either urban or rural destinations by their residential aspirations held in 1968. Only at the 0.10 level of probability, was the hypothesized relationship significant such that more youths migrated to communities that they and aspired to live in (in 1968) than those who did not.

VI. Residential expectations and community of destination type:

Hypothesis

There is a significant relationship between residential expectations and type of community of destination.

Findings

No significant relationship was found to exist between the type of residential expectations held by rural migrant youths and the subsequent community of destination type they chose. Table XVI shows that at the 0.2 level of probability, only slightly more than ten per cent of

TABLE XV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL ASPIRATIONS AND COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION TYPE OF RURAL YOUTH MIGRANTS IN PERCENTS

Residential Aspirations '68	Community of Destination Type	
	Urban	Rural
Urban	52.6	39.1
Rural	47.4	60.9
Total	100	100
N	133	87

$X^2 = 3.3502$ D.F. = 1 $P \geq 0.10$ (N.S.)

TABLE XVI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL EXPECTATIONS AND COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION TYPE OF RURAL YOUTH MIGRANTS IN PERCENTS

Residential Expectations '68	Community of Destination Type	
	Urban	Rural
Urban	60.9	49.5
Rural	39.1	50.5
Total	100	100
N	138	91

$X^2 = 2.4612$ D.F. = 1 $P \geq .20$ (N.S.)

of the migrant youth showed that they migrated to community types in which they had expected to live in (in 1968).

IV. Conclusion:

The various findings (presented in this chapter) and their interpretations within a social-cultural framework of reference will be briefly summarized in the following and concluding chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

This concluding chapter includes (a) a summary of the major findings; (b) a discussion of the implications that these findings have for research in this area and the conceptual framework used; (c) some suggestions for further research.

II. SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

The graphic representations of the major findings given in Appendix A, may well serve to summarize these findings. However, they are briefly listed under the following headings:

Residential Status Projections

Findings related to the residential status projections (aspirations and expectations) of rural youth show that:

(a) Significantly more black youths aspire and expect to live in the urban areas (cities) than white youths.

(b) Significantly more females aspire to and expect to live in cities than their male counterparts.

(c) Most black females aspire to and expect to live in cities and least desire or expect to live on farms.

(d) White males generally prefer and expect rural residence statuses and least expect or desire to live in cities.

Residential Goal Deflection

Generally, the majority of the rural youth interviewed did not anticipate residential goal deflection in their status projections.

(a) Significant Sex differences were observed in terms of the strength (or degree) of residential goal deflections of rural youth. Race differences, in this respect, were not statistically significant.

Migration Performance

The majority of the rural youths had migrated out of their home communities. There were significant race differences in the migration performance of rural youth.

(a) The incidence of migration was higher for black youths than white youths.

(b) The incidence of migration was highest for black males followed by white females and black females, respectively. White males had the lowest incidence of migration.

(c) Over one-half of the rural youth migrants moved to other parishes, (mostly non-contiguous parishes). About twelve percent of them moved to other communities in the same parish, and approximately 30 percent moved out of the state in almost equal proportions to contiguous and non-contiguous states.

(d) Except for those migrating to neighboring (contiguous) and non-contiguous parishes, the number of migrants tended to decrease with increasing ranges (distances) between the communities of destination and origin.

(e) Black youth tended to migrate farther from their home communities than white youths. More blacks had moved out of the state than whites. White youths showed the highest tendency to move to non-contiguous parishes within the state and the least tendency to move out of the state; while black youths showed higher tendencies to migrate out of the state, and the least tendency to move to other communities in the same parish.

(f) No significant sex differences in the range of migration was observed.

(g) The majority of the rural youth migrated to urban areas. They showed little tendency to migrate to farms.

(h) Proportionately more black youths migrated to cities than white youths.

(i) No significant sex differences were observed in the type of community of destination of the migrant rural youths.

Residential Aspirations, Expectations and Goal Deflection as Factors Related to Migration Performance

No significant relationship was found between the following variables:

(1) Residential aspiration and incidence of migration.

(2) Strength (degree) of goal deflection and incidence of migration.

(3) Strength (degree) of goal deflection and range of migration.

(4) Residential status projections (aspirations and expectations) and type of community of destination.

There is significant relationship between residential expectation and incidence of migration--rural youth (white males only) who expected urban residential status, migrated in significantly higher proportions than those who expected rural residential status.

III. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Residential Status Projections

Findings reported in this thesis pertaining to the residential status projections of rural youth generally support the findings of past studies. Race and sex differences in status projections found closely replicate those found by Kuvlesky and Pelham (1967) in Texas. In this regard, the findings provide further empirical evidence to support the generalizations made by Kuvlesky and Pelham (1967) concerning the residential status projections of rural youth from low-income counties in the south (reviewed in Chapter III).

This study, hopefully, has extended the limited body of knowledge concerning the residential status projections of rural youth. The special contribution was an analysis of the residential goal deflection in terms of race/sex differences. It is the first known study to analyze the residential attainments of rural youths, subsequent to determining their residential aspirations and expectations (particularly that of their community of destination type).

Migration Performance

Findings in this study concerning the incidence, range and type of community of destination of rural youths, are widely supported in migration literature. As Bowles (1963); Bogue (1969) and others have found and also predicted, most rural youth migrate out of their home communities to urban communities. The majority moved within the state. The significant race and sex differences found in this study in migration performances of rural youth are similar to patterns found in past migration selectivity studies. Race differences were significant in all aspects of migration performance.

Theoretical Implications

The findings related to the residential aspirations, expectations and migration performance of rural youths lends support to the theoretical postulates previously presented (Chapter II). Briefly, they provide evidence that:

A. Migration of rural youth may be viewed as normative behavioral patterns of social adaptation in response to changes in their social-cultural systems, principally manifested in declining rural communities.

The facts that rural youth aspire and expect as well as actually migrate to urban communities, imply that they perceive varying degrees of relative deprivation and intervening obstacles towards attaining projected status goals and success in their rural home communities. Their migration performance represents behavioral adaptations to overcome obstacles to goal attainment and satisfaction of needs.

B. Rural youths have internalized the cultural "success" theme in varying degrees dependent upon a host of other interrelated factors, affecting both their status goal projections and migration performance. Their differential migration performances out of their rural communities in search of better opportunities in the urban areas, may be viewed generally as motivated behavior for success and goal status attainment.

The distinct race and sex differences of rural youth residential status projections and migration performance, generally support these two variables as important factors in the career decision making process of rural youth at the time of high school graduation. They reflect distinct sub-cultural differences in terms of goal orientations, life styles, internalization of the "success" theme, perceived relative deprivation and intervening obstacles to goal attainment and differential opportunities available for the different race/sex groups. Generally, they reinforce assertations by previous researchers that both race and sex are critical ascription status variables in contemporary American society affecting goal status orientations and attainment.

Specific findings in this study relating residential aspirations, expectations and goal deflections of rural youth to their subsequent migration performance suggest the following:

A. Residential status projections are not critical elements in the decision making process of rural youth at the time of high school graduation. They assume secondary importance in relation to other goals (e.g., occupation, education, etc.) which are of greater immediate importance.

B. The relatively "weak" nature of residence goals in rural youth at this time, suggests that they do not represent important push elements in the decision to migrate and are generally poor indicators of future differential geographic mobility patterns of rural youth.

In this regard, one exception has to be noted. Residential expectations of rural youth in this study was significantly related to their incidence of migration. Further research is suggested to test for validity of this finding.

C. Residential aspirations and expectations as they are measured in this study, are poor indicators of the residential status attainment of rural youth.

IV. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Many suggestions for further research in this area (residential status projections and migration performance) have been indicated in the presentation of the analysis and findings of this study (Chapter V). Further research should be directed to determining if the persistent race and sex differences in residential status projections and migration performance remains the same, beyond four years after high school. These efforts should attempt to find out if the residential status goals of youths gain greater relative importance, when compared to other life career goals (including education, occupation, etc.) beyond this four year period. Residential aspirations, expectations and goal deflections should be interrelated to other variables (e.g., background characteristics, occupational and educational status projections, etc.) in testing for their relationships to migrations performance. A comparison using a similar approach as in this study, between urban and rural youths' residential aspirations and expectations and subsequent migration behavior may be most fruitful in future research efforts. Finally, it is suggested that future researchers in this area devise more refined instruments for measuring these variables to obtain higher levels of measurement so that more powerful statistical analytical techniques may be employed.

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APPENDIX A

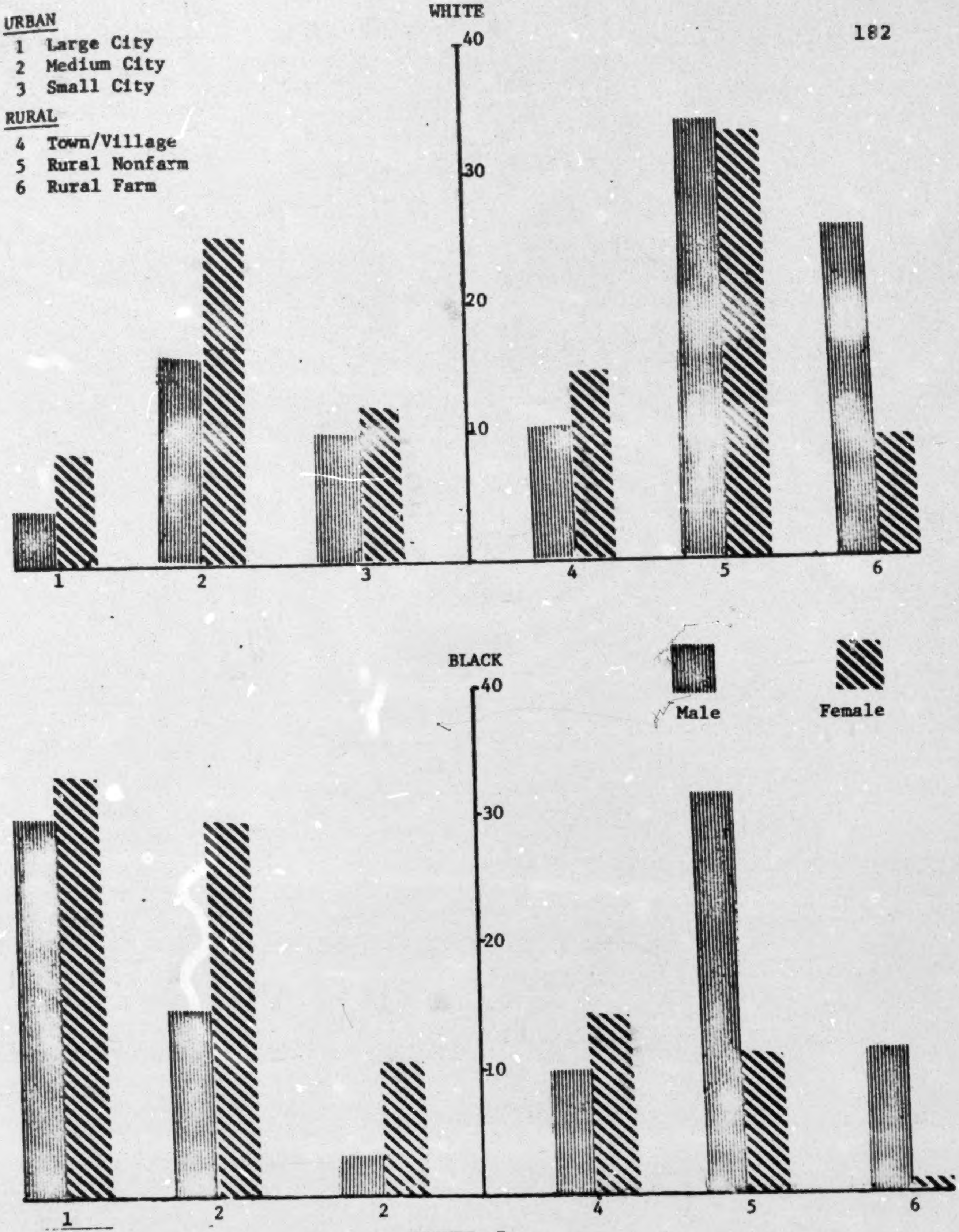
URBAN
1 Large City
2 Medium City
3 Small City
RURAL
4 Town/Village
5 Rural Nonfarm
6 Rural Farm
WHITE
40
30
20
10
1
2
3
4
5
6
BLACK
40
30
20
10
Male
Female
1
2
2
4
5
6

FIGURE I

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

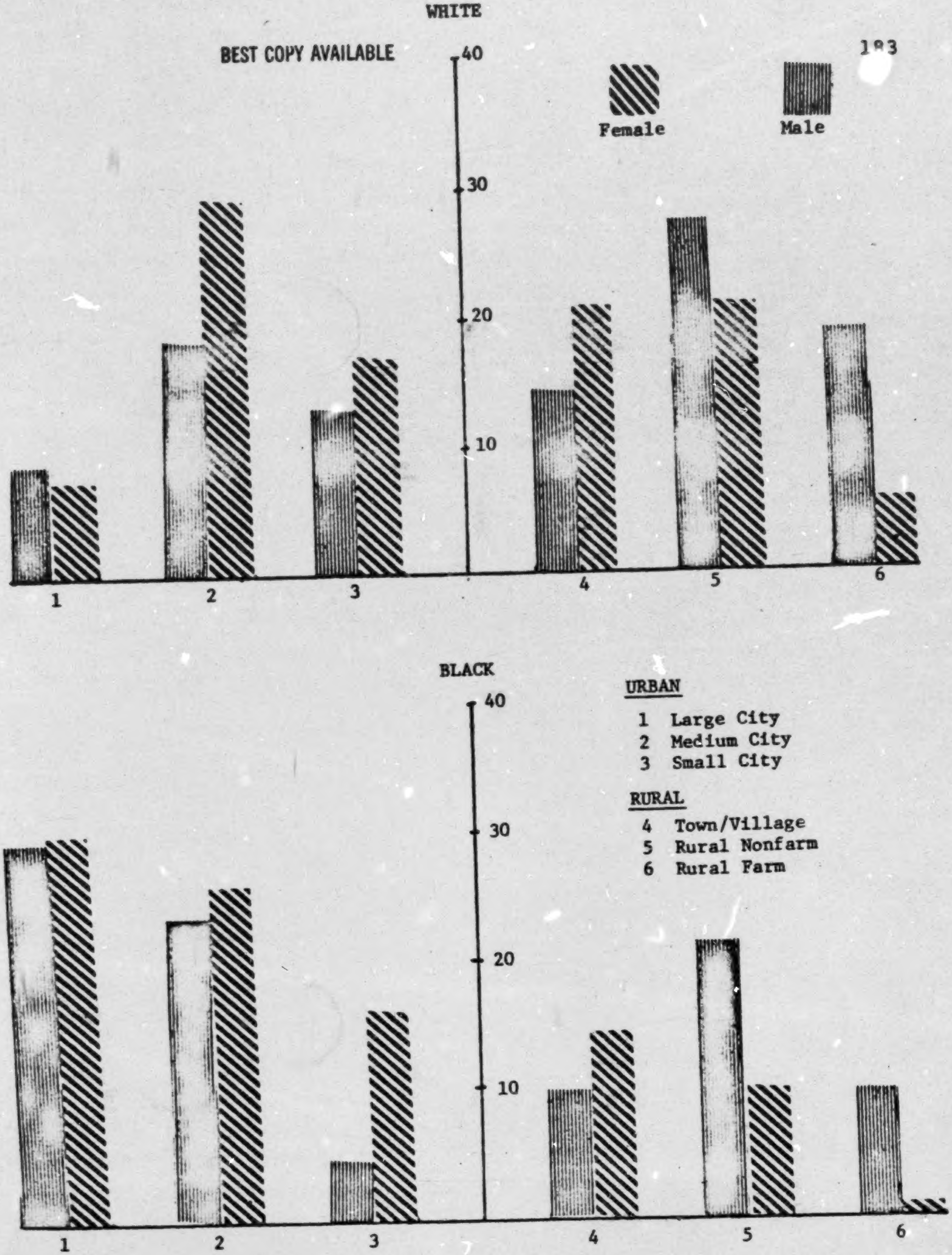

FIGURE II

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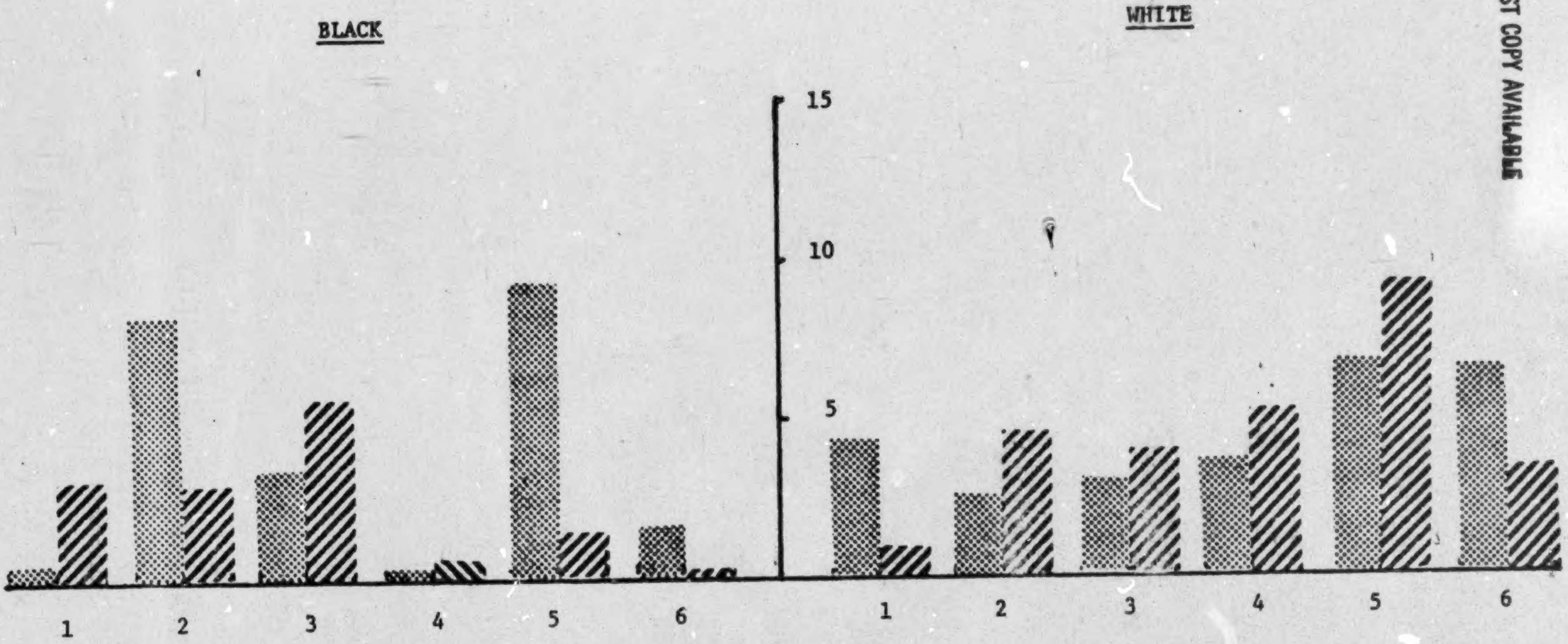

FIGURE III

RESIDENTIAL GOAL DEFLECTION OF RESPONDENTS IN PERCENTS

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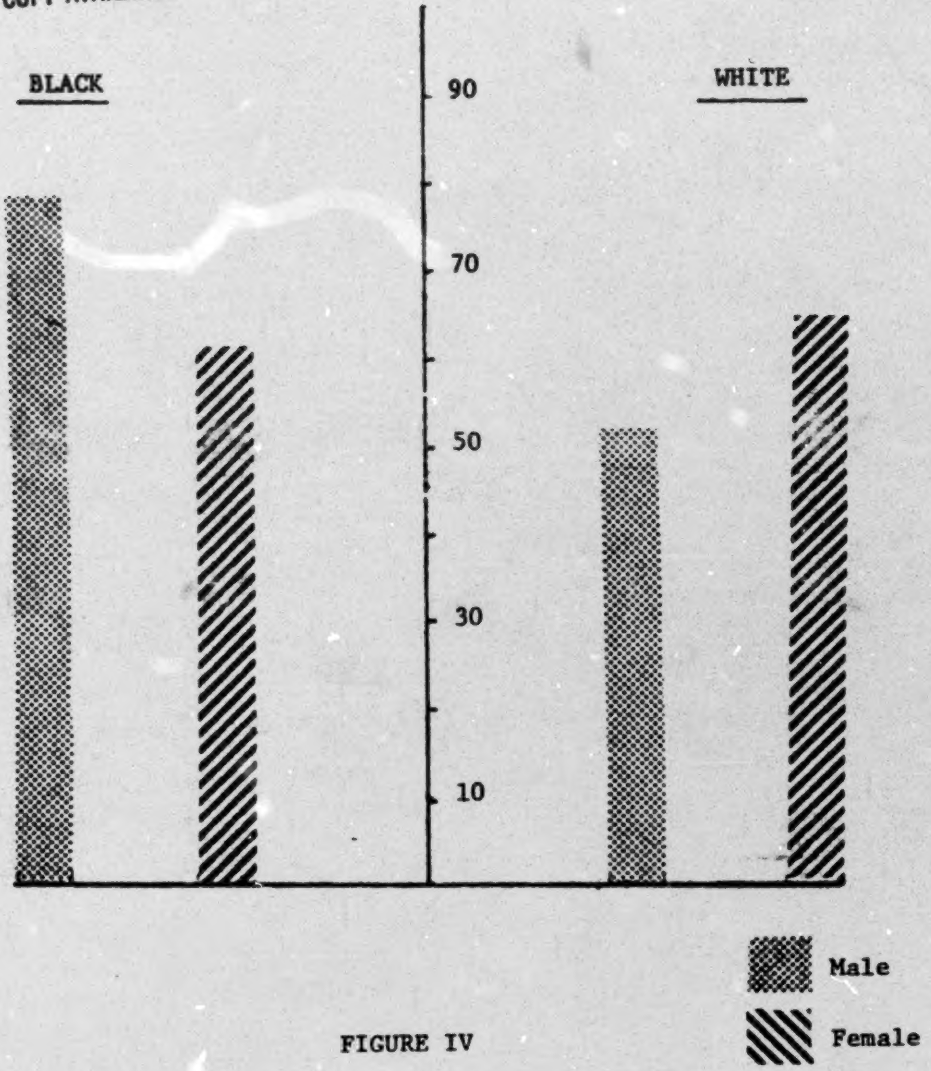

FIGURE IV

INCIDENCE OF MIGRATION OF RESPONDENTS IN PERCENT

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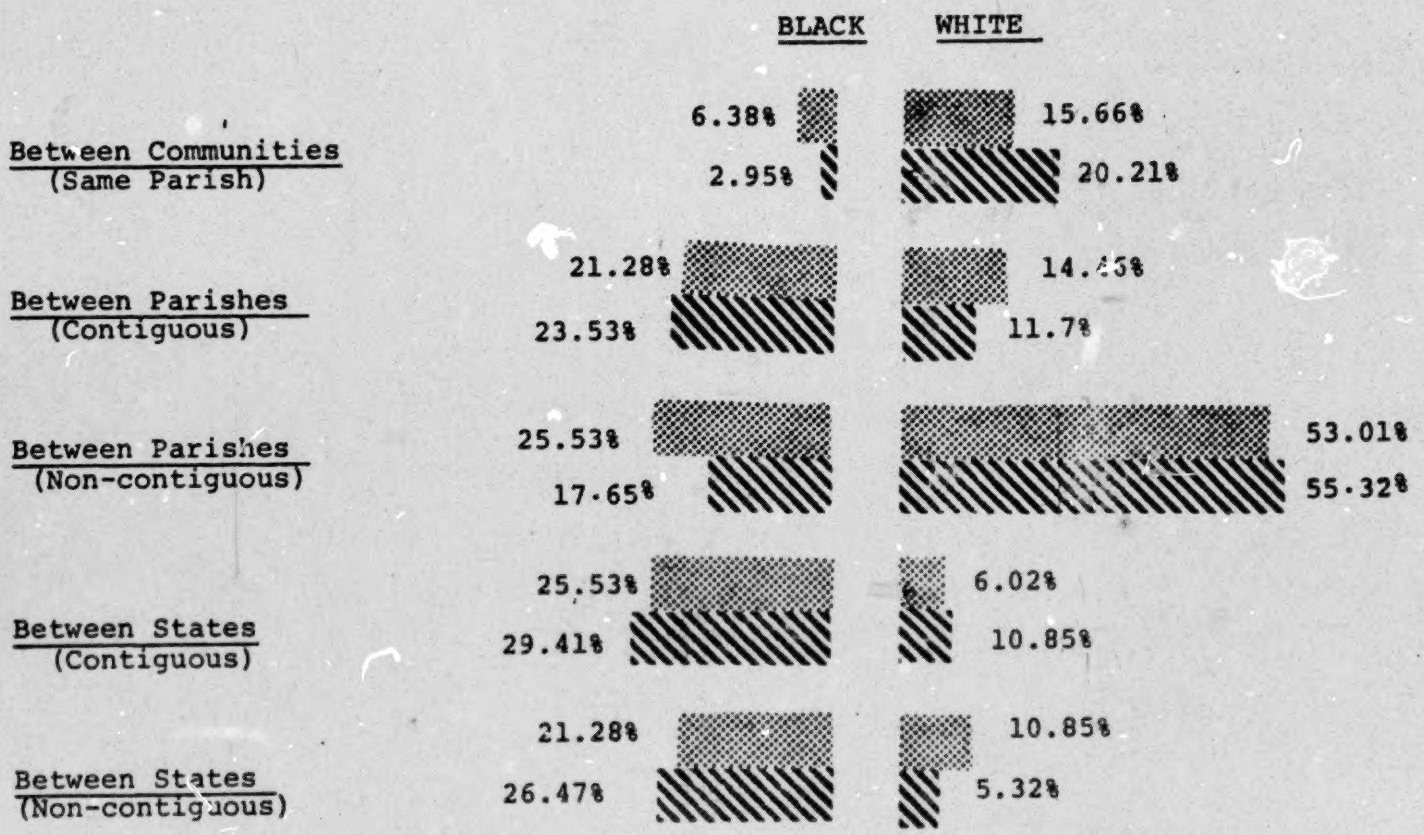

FIGURE V

RANGE OF MIGRATION OF RURAL YOUTHS IN PERCENTS

▒ MALE ▨ FEMALE

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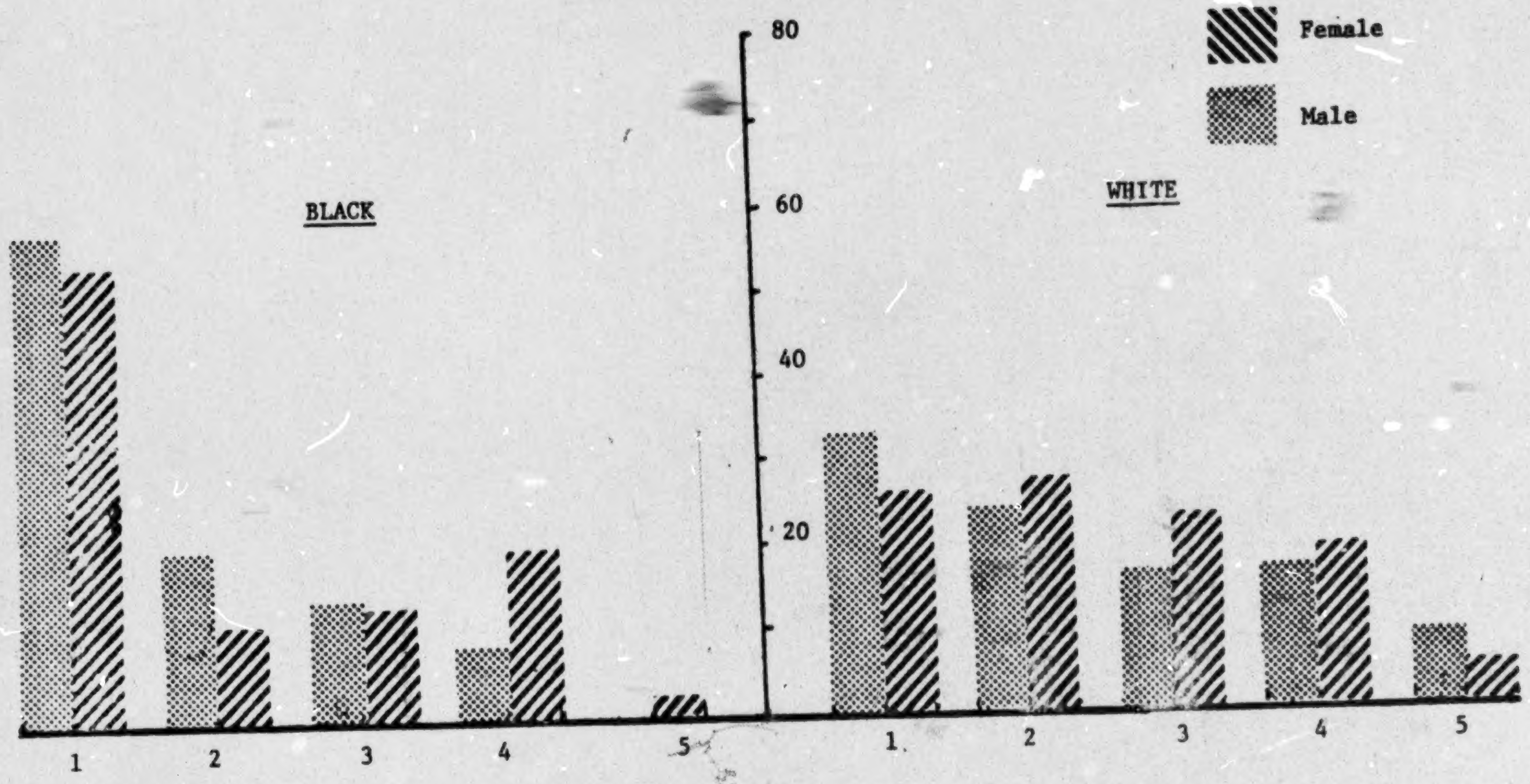

FIGURE VI

TYPE OF COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION OF RURAL YOUTH MIGRANTS IN PERCENT

URBAN

1 Large City
2 Small City

RURAL

3 Town/Village
4 Rural Nonfarm
5 Rural Farm

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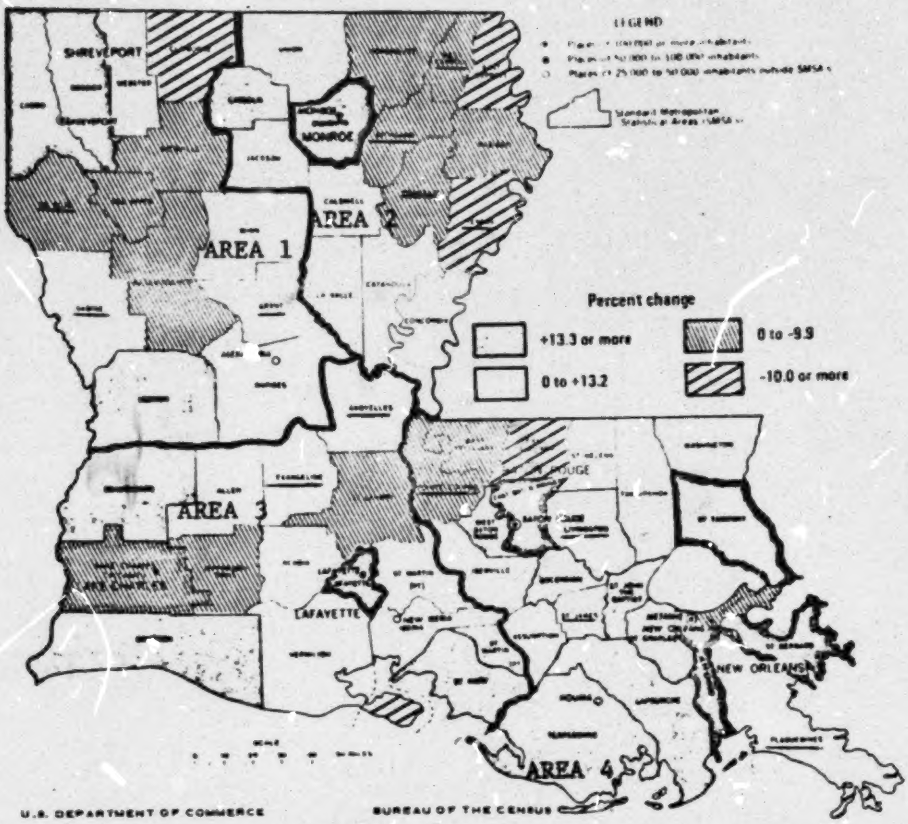

FIGURE 7. Population Change for Parishes, 1960-1970.

Sources: Karen W. Paterson and Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana's Human Resources: Part V Population Change by Parishes and Incorporated Places, 1950-1970.

TABLE I

RANGE OF MIGRATION OF RURAL YOUTH BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN LOUISIANA IN PERCENTS

Range of Migration	Geographical Area I	II	III	IV	Total
Between Communities (Same Parish)	17.65	7.14	5.26	23.44	12.67
Between Parishes					
(Contiguous)	20.59	11.9	7.9	29.69	16.78
(Non-Contiguous)	20.58	51.19	48.68	40.62	41.1
Between States					
(Contiguous)	25	13.1	19.74	1.56	15.07
(Non-Contiguous)	16.18	16.67	18.42	4.69	14.38
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	68	84	76	64	292
Military	1	4	2	3	10
Non-Migrants					
Non-Movers	35	26	12	28	101
Local-Movers	21	23	19	21	84
Total	56	49	31	49	185

TABLE II. MIGRATION PERFORMANCE (RANGE AND INCIDENCE) OR RURAL YOUTH BY GEOGRAPHIC AREAS AND PARISHES IN NUMBER AND PERCENTS.

Geographic Location Area & Parish	Non-Migrants				Migrants										Total	
	Non-Movers		Movers		Between Communities (Same Parish)		Between Parishes (Contiguous)		Between Parishes (Non-Contiguous)		Between States (Contiguous)		Between States (Non-Contiguous)			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I-Northwest																
Sabine	8	32	4	16	4	16	-	-	5	20	2	8	2	8	25	100
Grant	12	42.9	5	17.9	3	10.7	2	7.1	3	10.7	3	10.7	-	-	28	100
DeSoto	15	21.1	12	16.9	5	7	12	16.9	6	8.5	12	16.9	9	12.7	71	100
Total	35		21		12		14		14		17		11		124	
Military - 1																
II-Northeast																
West Carroll	6	28.5	2	9.5	1	4.8	1	4.8	10	47.6	1	4.8	-	-	21	100
Tensas	5	16.7	2	6.7	2	6.7	1	3.3	15	50	1	3.3	4	13.3	30	100
Richland	12	19.4	18	29	3	4.8	8	12.9	11	17.7	6	9.7	4	6.5	62	100
Franklin	3	15	1	5	-	-	-	-	7	35	3	15	6	30	20	100
Total	26		23		6		10		43		11		14		133	
Military - 4																

(Table II. to be continued)

(Table II - Continued)

Geographic Location Area & Parish	Non-Migrants				Migrants											
	Non-Movers		Movers		Between Communities (Same Parish)		Between Parishes (Contiguous)		Between Parishes (Non-Contiguous)		Between States (Contiguous)		Between States (Non-Contiguous)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
III-Southwest																
Avoyelles	12	12.4	16	16.5	4	4.1	6	6.2	37	38.1	13	13.4	9	9.3	97	100
Evangeline	-	-	3	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	5	50	10	100
Total	12		19		4		6		37		15		14		107	
Military - 2																
IV-Southeast																
Livingston	11	40.7	5	18.5	1	3.7	8	29.7	2	7.4	-	-	-	-	27	100
Pointe Coupee	6	10.9	11	20	13	23.6	5	9.1	18	32.7	-	-	2	3.7	55	100
St. James	7	38.8	2	11.1	1	5.6	1	5.6	5	27.7	1	5.6	1	5.6	18	100
Plaquemine	4	30.8	3	23.1	-	-	5	38.4	1	7.7	-	-	-	-	13	100
Total	28		21		15		19		26		1		3		113	
Military - 3																

APPENDIX B

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

CONFIDENTIAL No. ____________________

LOUISIANA YOUTH STUDY

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

This set of questions is part of a study of high school students in the southern United States. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what students think about their future and what they plan to do after they leave high school.

THIS IS NOT A TEST! There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in finding out your opinions about some important matters. No one in your school will ever see your answers. Special safeguards have been set up to make sure that your replies will be kept strictly confidential.

You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. However, we hope that you will cooperate to make this a good scientific study by answering all the questions as frankly and honestly as you can. We appreciate your help very much.

1. How old were you on your last birthday?_______________

2. Sex (Circle one number): 1 Male 2 Female

3. What school grade are you in? (Circle the number in front of your grade):

   1 Ninth 2 Tenth 3 Eleventh 4 Twelfth

4. Where have you lived most of your life? (Circle one number):

   1 Large city (50,000 and over)
   2 Medium city (10,000 to 50,000)
   3 Small city (2,500 to 10,000)
   4 Town or village (under 2,500)
   5 In the country, but not on a farm
   6 On a farm

5. What is your race? (Circle one number):

   1 White 2 Black 3 Oriental 4 Indian 5 Other

6. Are you (Circle one number):

   1. The youngest living child in your family
   2. The oldest living child in your family
   3. Neither the youngest nor the oldest living child
   4. The only child

7. How much effect do you think each of the following things will have in keeping you from getting the job you desire? (Circle one number for each thing):

	Very Much	Much	Some	Not at all
Not enough money to go to technical school or college.	4	3	2	1
The schools I have gone to.	4	3	2	1
Lack of parents' interest.	4	3	2	1
My race.	4	3	2	1
Don't want to move	4	3	2	1
Good jobs are getting too scarce in the U.S.	4	3	2	1

8. Of the kind of places listed below, in which one would you most desire to live for the rest of your life? (Circle only one number):

In a city

1. Large
2 Small
3 Medium

Near a City

4 In a town or village
5 In the country but not on a farm
6 On a farm

Not near a City

7 In a town or village
8 In the country but not on a farm
9 On a farm

---

9 (a) From the kind of places listed above, what type of place do you really expect to live most of your life? Place the number of this type of place in the following box:

(b) How certain are you that you will live in this kind of place?

I am: (Circle one number)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

10. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. (Read over the entire list before answering the question.)

____To have lots of free time to do what I want.

____To get all the education I want.

____To earn as much money as I can.

____To get the job I want most.

____To live in the kind of place I like best.

____To have the kind of house, car, furniture and other things like this I want.

____To get married and raise a family.

---

11. Which of the following best describes the place you now live?

In a City

1. Very large
2. Small

Near a City

3. In a town or village
4. In the country but not on a farm
5. On a farm

Not near a City

6. In a town or village
7. In the country but not on a farm
8. On a farm

No. __________

As we mentioned before, your answers to these questions are strictly confidential. No information about particular persons will be given to your school or anyone else. However, we will need your name and address so that we can locate and contact you several years from now. Please give us the following information.

PLEASE PRINT

(a) Your present address

First name
Middle initial
Last name

Street address

City or town
Parish
State

Telephone number
Name of parents or guardians

(b) Name and Address of relative or friend (living at a different address from the one you gave above) who will always know where you are living if you should move in the next few years.

First name
Middle initial
Last name

Street Address

City or town
Parish
State

Telephone No.

THANK YOU FOR HELPING US!

Interviewer Form
State Louisiana

USDA Regional Research Project S-81
Regional Interview Schedule
Summer 1972 Survey

1. Regional ID ☐☐☐☐☐

2. State ID ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

3. Respondent Name ____________________
(Last) (First) (Middle Initial) (Maiden)

4. 1968 Address ____________________
(Street or Rural Route Number)
____
(City) (County) (State) (Phone)

5. 1970 Address ____________________
(Street or Rural Route Number)
____
(City) (County) (State) (Phone)

6. 1972 Address ____________________
(Street or Rural Route Number)
____
(City) (County) (State) (Phone)

7. Parents' Address ____________________
____
____

8. (Alternate Address
Date ________) ____________________
(Street or Rural Route Number)
____
(City) (County) (State) (Phone)
____
(Remarks)

9. (Alternate Address
Date ______________) ______________________________
(Street or Rural Route Number)

____
(City) (County) (State) (Phone)

____
(Remarks)

10. (Alternate Address
Date ______________) ______________________________
(Street or Rural Route Number)

____
(City) (County) (State) (Phone)

____
(Remarks)

____

11. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

12. Age: ☐ (In years)

13. Ethnic Group: ☐ White; ☐ Black; ☐ Spanish American;

☐ Other ______________

14. Type of Interview (1972) Obtained:

☐ 1. Personal Interview

☐ 2. Phone Interview

☐ 3. Mail

☐ 4. No Interview

15. Reason for No Personal Interview

☐ 1. Unable to locate respondents.

☐ 2. Unable to reach respondents at current address.

☐ 3. Refusal

☐ 4. Other ______________________________

16. Elaborate in detail the reason for no personal interview.

17. Interviewer's Evaluation of the Quality of the Interviewing Session and Characteristics of the Respondent.

a.	cooperative		uncooperative
b.	accurate		inaccurate
c.	interested		bored
d.	understood question		misunderstood question
e.	desirable interview setting		undesirable interview setting
f.	overall evaluation: high quality		low quality

18. Other remarks on the quality of the interview.

19. Interviewers name:

Date

Place of Interview

VITA

The author was born May 7, 1948, in Ipoh, Perak, Malaysia. He received his primary and lower secondary education at the Ngee Heng Primary English School and English College in Johore Bahru, Malaysia, respectively. He then joined the Royal Military College at Sungei Besi, Malaysia, where he completed his upper secondary education in 1965. In 1966, he enrolled at the College of Agriculture, Serdang, Malaysia with a Federal Agricultural Scholarship awarded by the Federal Department of Agriculture Malaysia. After graduating with a Diploma of Agriculture in 1968, he was appointed as an Agricultural Assistant with the Federal Department of Agriculture Malaysia, working in the Farmers' Association Division. During this time, he also taught courses related to Farmers' Associations at the School of Agriculture, Serdang, Malaysia.

In February 1969, he was awarded a Fulbright Travel Grant to study in the U.S. He enrolled at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, as a foreign exchange student and received the Bachelor of Science in May 1971, majoring in Rural Sociology. The author then accepted a graduate research assistantship with the Department of Rural Sociology at LSU and is presently a candidate for the Master of Arts Degree.